THE NATION

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A GENERATION UP IN ARMS

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LETTERS

flying with Hubert

Minneapolis, Minn.

DEAR SIRS: I have just read with interest Robert G. Sherrill's article, "Hubert Humphrey: Speaking in Tongues" [*The Nation,* Apr. 29]. As I read along, my eyes widened in horror as I gullibly soaked up the gospel according to Sherrill.

That is, until I got to the part where Sherrill uses the 1966 Minnesota gubernatorial campaign as the backdrop for one of his Humphrey stories. A conversation Sherrill says took place between Humphrey and DFL-endorsed gubernatorial candidate A. M. Keith (defeated in the primary) was during a "hedgehopping air trip" when "Humphrey returned to his home grounds to help the Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate." [The point of the story was Mr. Keith's surprise that Humphrey could present himself as belonging to whatever church the men speaking to him attended. *Editors*]

As a member of Lt. Gov. Sandy Keith's campaign staff, I know full well Hubert Humphrey never returned to his home state to actively campaign for *anybody* in that primary fight . . . .

Mrs. B. J. Pickett

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: I appreciate Mrs. Pickett's calling my attention to a careless error . . . . I have rechecked with my source and found that, as Mrs. Pickett correctly points out, Humphrey gave no further assistance to Keith after endorsing him at a press conference in Minneapolis on the day after the convention. The hedgehopping ride and the conversation I quoted occurred on an earlier date.

Robert G. Sherrill

justice to Chaliapin

St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIRS: The review "The Uses of Chaliapin" by Simon Karlinsky [*The Nation,* May 27] demonstrates, at least to this reader, that Professor Karlinsky can have no ear either for vocal music or for the Russian language. Those of us who have heard Chaliapin in person, and to whom Russian is a native language, found his performances to be an unforgettable, and even shattering, experience . . . . Further, Chaliapin's role in helping to intersperse the endless succession of Italian and French operas with native Russian works, often of superior quality, was an important and progressive contribution.

In a sense, Chaliapin summed up musical and artistic life in pre-revolutionary Russia, and an exciting and creative period it was. Chaliapin's character had many flaws and his political views were primitive. But it will take a man of greater insight and less prejudice than Professor Karlinsky to do justice to this superb artist.

A. V. Brushkovitch, St. Louis University

Surrealism

New York City

DEAR SIRS: Since the idea that I can enjoy particular Surrealist works, while at the same time remaining indifferent, if not hostile to Surrealism as a sensibility, seems already too complicated a thought for Mr. Kozloff to grapple with [*The Nation,* May 27], I hesitate to join him in urging my colleagues to even greater complexity, for fear of blowing his mind altogether.

May I also point out that the line Mr. Kozloff gives as a quotation from Michael Fried is no such thing, but only a sample of my own poor dogmatic prose? . . .

Philip Leider

EDITORIALS

The New Constituency

In Oregon, Senator McCarthy found what he has been seeking. He has been raising the right issues all along; his problem, as he puts it, has been one of "finding our constituency." He did well in Nebraska and Indiana, but one does not seek new constituencies in those states. *The Nation* has felt from the start that McCarthy would be very effective in Oregon and California. States with weak party organizations and a record of independent voting, they both provide fine hunting grounds for new constituencies. And Oregon and California are exceptional only in the sense that their voting pattern tends to foreshadow national trends; they are pacesetters.

The new constituency that Senator McCarthy has sought cannot be defined in a few phrases; in fact, it cannot be precisely defined at all, for the reason that it is only now beginning to emerge. As a potentiality, this constituency has existed for some time. It has been clearly reflected in polls showing a high percentage of voters who are profoundly dissatisfied with the politics of the phony consensus. By the style and content of his campaign, McCarthy is tapping this potential, drawing it forth, giving it a chance to emerge as a new force in national politics.

Most commentators, most of the time, are deluded by the notion that the "new politics" is exclusively a matter of what Ray Bliss of the Republican National Committee refers to as "the nuts and bolts" of politics: techniques, polls, image making, manipulation, television, etc. Senator McCarthy is the only candidate in this election who understands that the new politics is really concerned with new issues and new constituencies. The old-style "brokerage" politics is being superseded by a new national concern with the issues of a post-industrial society.

The new issues cut across the old alliances and coalitions. They are concerned with foreign policy, environmental hazards, national priorities and the use of power, the control and proper use of technology, educational policy, civil liberties and civil rights, human dignity, the quality of social life and, above all, with goals and purposes, with aims and values. "We are in the beginning stages," as J. K. Galbraith points out, "of the questioning of the goals of the industrial system." McCarthy understands this substantive aspect of the new politics. For example, he does not appeal to slum residents in terms of inducing industry to build a few factories in ghetto areas. By insisting that now is no time to retreat from the ideal of integration, he is making the strongest possible appeal for and on behalf of Negroes. In brief, the new constituency begins to take form as voters respond to McCarthy and the issues he is raising.

But the "old politics" is still with us; it is being challenged but it has not been displaced. It has strong organizational and institutional roots. It permeates both parties. The President and Vice President are adroit practitioners of the politics of the phony consensus; so is Richard Nixon. In both parties, the "old politics" is strong in terms of delegate count, but in terms of enthusiasm, participa-

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tion, new voters, and breadth and intensity of appeal, the "new politics" could be decisive in November—that is, if a new-style politician is pitted against a practitioner of the old.

The Oregon vote demonstrates that Nixon is running an effective campaign, and he will probably be the GOP nominee. He would make his strongest race against Humphrey, who likes to point out that he and Nixon are not too far apart in their views on the war (*U.S. News & World Report* May 27). With Humphrey and Nixon as the nominees, voters would once again be locked into a synthetic harmony on both foreign and domestic issues (for foreign policy clearly defines the parameters of domestic programs). With Nixon as the likely Republican nominee, the Democrats should nominate McCarthy if they want to win. He can unify the party. Humphrey cannot, nor can Kennedy. McCarthy has strong independent support. He also draws substantially from liberal-moderate Republicans who cannot abide Nixon. He has broad appeal; in Oregon, for example, he did remarkably well in high- and middle-income areas. He outpolls all other candidates in campus communities. The California primary will provide an even better test than Oregon of the potency of this constituency. For as Lord Bryce pointed out many years ago, "What America is to Europe, what Western America is to Eastern, that California is to the other Western States. It has more than any other the character of a great country."

The Institution

Writing in *Fortune* on "The New Arithmetic of Defense," Gilbert Burck and Alan Greenspan warn that Vietnam is going to cost more than the 1969 budget projects. Only the other day the President confirmed this prediction by casually asking Congress for a supplemental defense appropriation of $3.9 billion. The press treated the request as routine—which in fact such fiscal escalations have become.

Fortune, which never fails in *sang-froid*, assures us that while the rise from $24 billion to $33 billion annually will compound some problems, it is really no great matter. While the increment will exacerbate inflation, increase budget deficits, and further disturb balance of payments, still it is only a small fraction of GNP; $9 billion is not chicken feed, but "actually it would impose little strain on the nation's physical resources." Of course it won't—if shooting off physical resources on a Gargantuan scale is no strain. Ground and air ordnance output alone is running at the rate of more than $5 billion a year. TNT stands for trinitrotoluene, and its ingredients are useful in other connections.

The human expenditure is also within the bounds of statistical tolerance. In two recent weeks the actual U.S. dead, as distinguished from the number reported initially (there is a time lag), were 550 and 640. From January 1, 1961, to May 23, 1968, U.S. casualties have been 23,500 killed and 143,678 wounded. Many of the wounded are permanently mutilated or crippled. These are our strong young men. Like the chemicals which go into ammunition,

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better uses might be found for them. Still, it is no great strain on our human resources.

A devastating survey in *The New York Times* (May 27) shows 800,000 deteriorating apartments in New York City alone, but funds were available to build only 12,000 new apartments last year under publicly aided programs, and at least half of these were for middle-income families. Vast areas are in decay. On the previous day, the *Times* had discovered 800,000 poor people in the suburbs—where all is supposed to be affluence and the good life. Congress is growing more and more resentful of the Poor People's March in Washington, and the key issue in the Presidential campaign may well be *crime*. Nine billion dollars would go a long way toward alleviating these evils, but the war comes first.

With only a little hesitation, *Fortune* looks on the bright side. As Burck and Greenspan were writing, the Pentagon was sticking to its estimate that it would take 750,000 men "to finish the job." The good news is that the costs will build up at a considerably slower rate than will U.S. forces in Vietnam. At the end of 1967, with 485,000 in Vietnam, the direct cost of the war was running at about $24 billion a year, or $50,000 per man. With our force level built up to 750,000, the total cost will be $33 billion a year—or only $34,000 per man. In a sense, we are getting a bargain on these manpower additions.

Not only *Fortune* but almost all the media are complacent about this drainage of money and men into the illusion of Vietnam. It hasn't really figured distinctly in the campaign. Last week we quoted Arthur Miller's striking characterization of the present war as an *institution*. An institution is what it has become, and a most respectable one. In the United States, that is; elsewhere it's a different story. Even among our "allies" many people think we have gone crazy.

Magic Words

Mr. Byrd of Virginia rises in the Senate to quote, out of context and with an ax of his own to grind, from *The New York Times*. The subject is "decentralization" of schools. Mr. Byrd favors it. "I feel strongly," he intones, "that the closer we can keep the schools to the people, the more effective school system we will have. . . . I want the Federal Government to keep its hands off the operation of the schools in the various localities. . . . I want decentralization of the schools."

What he really wants is the system that prevailed in the South before racial segregation in public schools was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1954. He wants educational apartheid. And, ironically, he attracts allies with whom he would not be found dead—nor they with him. It is a perfect instance of the use of a word as an incantation, to cover up the fact that you don't know how to solve the problem, or don't want to see it solved.

In this instance, the trouble arose in the City of New York but it is of national scope. In barest outline, and without trying to prejudge the merits of the case, it began in the course of an experiment in community control of the schools in a predominantly slum area of Brooklyn, when the Negro administrator of the school district dismissed nineteen teachers and supervisors (as far as his jurisdiction was concerned) without the permission or approval of the city Board of Education. The result was a fracas involving the board, the school district, the children and their parents, the Mayor, the Governor, the state legislature, the state Commissioner of Education and Board of Regents, the United Federation of Teachers, the city police, and numerous other parties. There was some disorder—nothing very serious—but most of the children and many teachers stayed home and the schools had to be closed temporarily. Whatever the outcome may be, this was what happened at this particular stage, in this particular attempt to decentralize.

In New York and other large cities there are plenty of arguments for decentralization: the systems have become unwieldy. In this aspect, decentralization is an attempt to contend with entrenched bureaucracy, and of all bureaucracies the educational variety is probably the worst in its capacity to do harm, in both the present and the future. The New York Board of Education has not been able to alleviate the plight of the Negro and Puerto Rican children, who are not getting an education and whose parents are up in arms. The idea of community control not only has the support of the community but was put forward under the respectable auspices of the Ford Foundation and with its financial help. On the part of the Foundation, it was an attempt to solve the problem; on the part of the politicians involved it was mainly an attempt to take some of the heat out of the situation and saddle the complainants with responsibility—while giving them only limited and poorly defined authority.

Under such conditions, the danger is that for diverse reasons all kinds of groups will join in a hue and cry for "decentralized" schools: Right-wing elements like the idea —witness Senator Byrd. Some Black Nationalists like it. Those who are reluctant to spend what must be spent on the school system (centralized or decentralized) to make it work also like it. Those who have given up on integration may not like it but are inclined to accept it, *faute de mieux*.

With these forces in favor, and in the absence of strong countervailing sentiment, "decentralization" may emerge as a substitute for the pre-1954 type of segregation and the *de facto* segregation that followed, thus instituting a permanent pattern of segregation, the only redeeming feature being the fact that the segregated schools will be under the control of the segregated community.

This pattern can spread to other racial and ethnic groups, postponing indefinitely the realization of the ideal of a cohesive community indifferent to race. In addition, such a solution (if it can be called a solution) obscures this fact: Whatever the size of the district, or the extent of decentralization, success in education is impossible without massive infusion of public funds and improved facilities, services and programs. And the provision and application of this support must be worked out by experienced, dedicated administrators and teachers.

Which brings us back to the fiscal and social agony of the cities and all that is wrong with American civilization, which without flourishing cities is only a hollow shell. The

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Brooklyn experience proves—if proof is needed—that words and phrases cannot solve a deep-seated difficulty. Used indiscriminately, they may even aggravate the trouble and preclude a humane solution.

Killing the Watchdog

Los Angeles

By any standard, the California Public Utilities Commission is the pre-eminent state regulatory agency in the nation, with a budget of $11 million and a staff of more than 700. Deriving its authority from the state constitution, the commission is independent of legislative control, and its orders may not be reviewed by the lower courts; appeal starts at the state Supreme Court.

If the commission's resources and authority are great, they are needed to control the giant stockholder-owned utilities operating in California. The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co., an AT&T subsidiary, has assets of $3,700 million, and the combined worth of the state's largest utilities (PT&T, Pacific Gas and Electric, Southern California Edison, Pacific Lighting Corp., and two smaller companies) is more than $11 billion, a figure that does not include rail and highway carriers or airlines.

The influence of the CPUC is nation-wide. After the Federal Communications Commission announced its decision in an AT&T rate case in 1964, the California commission asked for a rehearing, on the ground that California, with 6 million telephone subscribers, had had no opportunity to be heard. When this petition was denied, the CPUC filed suit in the U.S. Court of Appeals, requesting a review of the FCC action. This also failed, but the insistent California commission, in effect, won its point. Shortly afterward, the FCC began an investigation of AT&T rates, covering all the issues raised by the CPUC. The "commission's concern for the consumer," acknowledged by *The Wall Street Journal*, is reflected in the cost of utility services. For example, 20 thermal units of gas, 50 kilowatt hours of electricity and a private telephone cost $15.35 in San Francisco. The bill for the same service is $30.72 in Boston and $28.35 in New York.

The regulatory climate in California has now changed, thanks chiefly to the election of Gov. Ronald Reagan. A little more than a month after Reagan's inauguration, Pacific filed an application with the CPUC for the biggest rate increase the company had ever requested—$181 million. PT&T's optimism was sound: Governor Reagan appointed two new commissioners to the five-member board, replacing men who had voted in 1965 for a $40-million telephone rate decrease. One of the new commissioners, Fred P. Morrissey, one-time associate dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of California, is a former paid consultant to PT&T; his appointment was recommended by the utilities. Governor Reagan's second appointee, also sympathetic to the utilities, is William Symonds, Jr., a former Republican state Senator.

During the eighty-two days of public hearings on PT&T's $181-million rate hike, Governor Reagan openly attempted to influence the commission by publicly stating that a telephone rate increase is "indicated" because of the company's need for capital expansion. And Lt. Gov. Robert H. Finch said at the annual convention of the Pacific Coast Gas Association that regulation of utilities only in the public interest is an outdated philosophy. The Lieutenant Governor's suggestion that investor and consumer are often one and the same person was greeted with enthusiasm.

However strong its newly protective attitude toward the utilities, the commission should not be under any compulsion to act quickly to save PT&T from bankruptcy. In 1967 PT&T's net income was $163,465,000—more than $10 million above earnings of the previous year—and so far in 1968 they are 25 per cent ahead of that.

The CPUC now has the $181-million plea under consideration. Pacific Telephone probably will not get it all—public uproar would be too great—but it appears likely that the company will get as much as half the amount requested. William M. Bennett, the most experienced of the CPUC members, a consistent defender of consumer interests and a holdover appointee of Governor Brown, stated recently: "Regulation as we have known it [in California] is dead. . . . The California utilities now dominate this commission."

PHIL KERBY

The Bourgeois as Disciplinarian

Years ago, Joseph A. Schumpeter, one of the staunchest and most intelligent defenders capitalism was ever blessed with, commented on "those short-term attempts at resistance by which bourgeois society proves itself so incompetent and occasionally so childish a disciplinarian."

In a time like the present, American judges are particularly prone to lose their heads when draft resisters appear before them. Last October, in a symbolic act of opposition to the draft and the Vietnamese War, the Rev. Philip F. Berrigan—a Catholic priest known the world over for his dedication and courage—joined with Thomas P. Lewis, an artist, David Eberhardt, a former teacher and conscientious objector, and the Rev. James Mengel, an unassigned minister of the United Church of Christ. The quartet poured a quantity of duck's blood on some draft-board records at the U.S. Customs House in Baltimore. A jury convicted them of destruction of government property and other offenses. On May 24, Federal District Judge Edward S. Northrop sentenced Eberhardt to serve three three-year sentences concurrently, while Berrigan and Lewis got six years apiece. Mengel's sentence was postponed while the Judge seeks "professional" (i.e., psychiatric) advice; in the meantime the defendant is under a technical sentence of eighteen years.

At about the same time, the black power militant Rap Brown, convicted in federal court in New Orleans on an obscure gun charge, got five years. Although Congress has refused to regulate the sale of rifles and shotguns, by mail order or otherwise, it is a federal crime for anyone under indictment to transport firearms across state lines. This was one of the facts of American jurisprudence that had escaped Brown's notice: accordingly he carried a .30 caliber carbine with him on a plane from New Orleans to

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New York while he was under indictment in Maryland for arson.

Lately Brown has been on the downgrade: his term as SNCC's national chairman is nearly over, and SNCC's influence is not what it used to be. Now he achieves renewed prominence, as a martyr. "I knew he would get busted sooner or later," a middle-class Negro businessman remarked, more or less sympathetically.

One need not approve the style of protest in these instances to recognize that the sentences are out of relation to the offenses charged. Sentencing Berrigan, et al., the judge verged on hysteria. "You deliberately set out to use violent means to destroy the very fabric of our society," he declared. "All of you hide behind words to accomplish your ends—to bring down this society."

Abroad, no one has ever heard of Judge Northrop, but millions know and admire Father Berrigan. With his vindictive sentences, Northrop has done more to bring down the society he treasures than Berrigan and his companions ever could (if such were their intention) by pouring blood on draft records. This act, however bizarre, has nothing whatever to do with overthrowing the government.

A GENERATION UP IN ARMS

Berkeley on the Tiber

GIANFRANCO CORSINI
Mr. Corsini, literary editor of Paese Sera *(Rome), has published in Italy two books on American letters and society.*

Rome

In the spring of 1967, Italians watching the government-controlled TV news were suddenly confronted with a scene that might have been familiar to an American audience, but was new here. Except for the neo-Roman architecture of the Fascist-built University of Rome, the sit-in taking place in the main square of this "citadel of culture" could easily have been mistaken for a scene filmed on the Berkeley campus. The students were mourning the death of Paolo Rossi, victim of a neo-Fascist assault on the militant dissenters at the university, and when the speeches to the silent crowd were over, the air was suddenly filled with the singing of *We Shall Overcome*—in English. In their time of crisis, the first protest song to come to the minds of thousands of Italian students was the anthem of the American civil rights movement. But in a sense this choice of song was appropriate, for the biggest student uprising ever to take place in this country started with borrowed tactics and borrowed slogans.

There is no doubt that the request for "student power," stressed by this unprecedented national movement, was originally motivated, to quote *Newsweek*, "by the desire to reform an archaic system of higher education" and to obtain "a voice in university administration." The emphasis was definitely on "power," and the working committees of the students who occupied main universities detailed their aims in a series of remarkable documents, now available in several books. The manifestoes of "participatory education" are obviously based on the specific needs of the outmoded Italian educational system. There has also been a symbolic banning of stuffy old books as a protest against the authoritarian notion of culture as "wealth possessed and distributed by the university institutions." It was accordingly suggested that the students be provided with more topical counter-courses (lectures), which turned out to be on matters such as revolution in South America, black power, Wilhelm Reich and the sexual revolution, new trends in psychoanalysis, the doctrines of Herbert Marcuse. In the mimeographed documents one can find a bibliography of preliminary reading which includes Hal Draper's *The Berkeley Revolution*, Paul Goodman's *Growing Up Absurd*, Stokely Carmichael's *Black Power*, the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*, all available in Italian translations.

The anti-textbooks of the new student elite in Italy, 1968, also include works by Guevara, Debray and Ho Chi Minh, but the massive presence of American authors is particularly instructive for anyone who would grasp the principal motivations of the Italian—and to a certain extent European—student movement. The "specter that haunts" the strongholds of European "culture" seems to speak mainly in English, with a strong American accent. The world-wide rejection of established values and institutions, which also animates the Italian student movement, springs from two parallel "ideological" sources that merge here in a new mixture. On the one hand it includes a revaluation of the Marxist "world view"; on the other, it responds to the more empirical suggestions of American "dissent."

Emphasis varies from country to country, but in Continental dimensions the movement can be interpreted as a protest against the existing society, a critique of the main features of its affluence, and the rejection of its accelerating process of Americanization. Thus America provides both villain and hero. At the very moment when Italian and French and German students join in a massive attack upon neo-capitalism, neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism (as represented by the American socio-economic structure, the American intervention in Vietnam and the American failure to give equal rights to its black citizens), they also borrow the intellectual weapons of their struggle from the arsenal of American "dissent." The

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American "myth" that we have known in the past is dying out, and a new American myth is growing in its place.

The present student rebellion is making Europeans aware of a major change in the relation between Europe and the United States; and for the second time within twenty-five years this relation is totally reversed. The American myth of "freedom and opportunity" which inspired the young Italian dissenters struggling against fascism in the late thirties and early forties lost its persuasion in the McCarthy era, and gave way to final rejection in the fifties, as documented by the later works of Pavese or Vittorini. The "discovery" of American "culture" which had begun to shake the old foundations of the European humanistic tradition was followed too closely by the disillusion of the cold war. Intellectual Europe began to shrink back into the comfortable boundaries of its heritage.

But European society has been changing almost at the pace of American society, fast enough to become soon aware that isolation was impossible. Oddly enough, it was then the American "sociological imagination" of the late fifties and early sixties that awakened some European intellectuals to the alarming symptoms of their own advancing mass society. By that time Europe had begun to wonder where its "lonely crowds" were going, who was its "power elite," when the "other" Europe would be found, or why its "inner persuaders" were twisting reality to fit their aims.

At that point a new European generation, still unequipped for self-criticism (except through the conventional channels of the Communist Parties in France and Italy, but without even those in England and Germany), found some inspiration in the new American symbol of the dissenter. The new American hero of a thousand faces looked like the Berkeley student or the SNCC activist, Allen Ginsberg or Malcolm X; Sergeant Yossarian or Noam Chomsky; Paul Goodman or Herbert Marcuse. Each one of them represented the "other America," as they call it here, and at the same time the "other man" that a whole generation was waiting to see emerge from the general mess. The strength of the new hero was that, though free of the sins of the Christian-colonial tradition, he was yet the unmistakable product of the technological age. Born into it, he proved the possibility of rejection from within. After all, he seemed to suggest that if there could be "another America" there could also be "another Europe"; hence his credibility in defiance of the simple, old-fashioned negations of dogmatic Marxism.

The new radicalism, then, developed where the old radicalism was still a strong component of political life; at the same time, in other areas (Germany or England) it aimed in a way to replace the old. This accounts for the ideological shadings to be found among the various European student movements. In Germany, where there is no strong left-wing opposition, the influence of the American radical students seems particularly close, whereas in France or in Italy the new radicalism still finds itself deeply rooted in the Marxist movement. Also significant in these two countries is the participation of radical Catholic groups which tend more and more to dissociate themselves from the orthodoxy of the Church and the established Catholic parties. One might ask, then, why there is this impulse to abandon traditional politics even in countries where the Communist Parties still represent the only

...forner, New Statesman

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strong and organized opposition to the power structure? Why the interest in a new American style, just at the time when American prestige in Europe is at its lowest? A possible answer lies in the general crisis of European culture, which has proved incapable of coping effectively with the new problems of the advancing mass society. Emphasis here is always put on the so-called technological gap between Europe and the United States; not enough attention has been given so far to the cultural lag, in a time when the two societies are acquiring more and more the same features.

Some forty years ago, in the isolation of prison, where the Fascists tried to "stop his brain," the Italian Marxist Gramsci wrote some surprising notes on *Babbitt,* which still seem to throw light on the situation:

> The existence of a literary current of realism in America which begins to be critical of its mores is a cultural fact of great importance: it means that a new American civilization is being born, conscious of its strengths and weaknesses. The European intellectuals have already lost this function to a large extent: they no longer represent cultural self-criticism, the self-criticism of the ruling class. They have either become direct agents of the ruling class or have separated into a little caste with no national roots. Babbitt is a philistine in a country in motion; the European petty bourgeoisie are philistines in conservative countries, rotting away in the swamps of a parochialism which preens itself on being a great culture.

Forty years later a new generation fully realizes, as Gramsci had suggested, that "the European Babbitt does not even fight against his philistinism; on the contrary he thrives on it." Therefore, this generation rejects its "great tradition" and sides with the dissenters born out of the culture of "self-criticism." In accepting the new American hero, however, today's European intellectual does not throw out the baby with the bath water; rather, he frequently reintegrates the Marxism in his outlook through, say, an American dimension of Marcuse's work. The latter's validity, then, must also be seen in perspective. The transcripts of a recent debate between the German-American philosopher and some Berlin students, published in *Das Ende der Utopie* (Berlin, 1967), show not only that Marcuse takes his lead from Marx but also that the students constantly try to bring him back to Marx. Many seem worried that the "end of utopia" might lead to another kind of utopia too far removed from contemporary reality. This is also strongly felt among many of the Italian students, whose documents suggest the need for a "linking of the student movement with the political forces of the workers' movement through parties and unions. . . ."

The failures of European Social Democracy and the inflexibility shown by the old party-line Marxism have often in the past provoked a reassessment of the ideological foundations of the revolutionary movements and led to positions independent of the traditional parties of the Left; but these were designed to bring pressure on them from the outside, rather than to by-pass them. In this context one might say that in France and Italy there has been on the whole no open split between the student movement and the old Left, but that a tension was created by a justifiable difference in outlook while the need for possible common action was emphasized. The fact that it was a student-worker First of May celebration which took place in Rome a few weeks ago emphasizes this point. Even Marcuse, answering a German student during his recent Berlin seminar, had to admit that "the tradition of the working class seems to be still very strong, at least in most European countries, while in America, where it previously existed, it is now extinguished." (*Das Ende der Utopie.*)

But it is striking that now for the first time the old European notion of the intellectual as the "conscience" of society has found for many its embodiment mainly on the other side of the ocean, and travels back to Europe in American dress. This adds to the responsibility of American intellectuals, who often appear unaware of the new burden that sits on their shoulders. Their victories and their failures will from now on affect us too.

If it is true that many young Europeans find inspiration in the moral upsurge of the American intelligentsia, they are not blind to the limitations exposed by J. P. Nettl in his recent *Nation* article ("Are Intellectuals Obsolete?" March 4), the attention he calls to a lack of "purpose and direction." The American "neo-intellectuals"—as Nettl calls them—might even find what was *creatively* borrowed from them by the European students (and used differently within the historical and social framework of each European nation) was a loan that could pay excellent interest if only they were willing to analyze what use was being made of it.

If the new American hero, who today replaces the old American clichés on the Continent, is content to be no more than a new "myth," his survival is problematic. This would be true also of those over here who might content themselves with accepting the new hero as a myth, instead of making him a living agent of change. The new hero would in such case become just another consumer product on the intellectual market. But if this discovery of the "other America" should develop into a two-way link between two new cultures, the achievement could very well be revolutionary. The anti-hero of dissent and rejection might then find his place among the purposeful agents of social change that C. Wright Mills so clearly identified in his later years. The new European generation has found in the American "dissenter" the missing link between the post-illuministic age and the post-technological era; but the problem now is to find an adequate setting for the new man yet to be born.

The European student movement should act as a warning to its American counterpart insofar as it shows the need to fill the ideological vacuum of the old Left with an organic construction of aims for the new "New Left." The revolutionary impact of American "dissent" on the European student movement needs to be emphasized, for its importance is great; on the other hand, it is also necessary to be clear about what distinguished the two. One need only refer to "Protest, Power and the Future of Politics" by Carey McWilliams (*The Nation*, January 15), where it was very plainly stated that the task of American radicalism is more than ever "to concentrate for a change on the political problems." European students know this full well, even if some of them, like their American friends, may think it possible or profitable to avoid the task.

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SDS: Between Reform and Revolution

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Although the popular press has been concentrating recently on the hippie as the dominant manifestation of American youth culture, the student Left movement has not disappeared; in fact, it has become considerably larger and more powerful; recent events at Columbia and other campuses confirm this growth. Once a small group of social activists working for university reform, the New Left has become a permanent force in the political culture of the university. Liberal student body presidents and even administrators have found it prudent to mouth New Left rhetoric, since radical groups now set the tone of campus politics. In addition to the campus activity, a striking new development has been the growth in high schools of student groups that work on issues ranging from academic and social reforms to draft resistance.

Yet for all its growth and vigor, the student movement is not without problems, and these arise primarily from a transformation of its purpose. Starting as a series of local groups pressing for specific reforms, the New Left in the last two years has swung over to building a movement that will fundamentally change American society. This shift of perspective has produced new areas of activities and new difficulties. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is the major student radical organization and a study of its actions and problems offers reliable insight into the state of the movement.

Established almost six years ago, SDS was at first principally devoted to exposing the social problems of contemporary America. In large measure, the early members saw activism on the local level as the major tactic in dramatizing the issues of poverty and civil rights. Politically, SDS members supported liberal Congressional candidates and, much to the later embarrassment of the organization, even went "part of the way with LBJ" in 1964. SDS was untroubled by the dogmatic struggles that embittered the old Left, and was welcomed by many liberals and leftists as a happy recovery from the "apathetic" student generation of the fifties.

The student activists soon lost their enthusiasm for working within the established order. Although the plight of poor and black Americans was more than sufficiently documented in the early sixties, little attack was made on the causes of poverty and racism. SDS members came increasingly to distrust liberal voices in the Democratic Party who urged support for their meager actions by repeatedly envisioning a take-over by the radical Right if the Democrats should lose.

By 1965, moreover, the aggressive and expansionist nature of American foreign policy had begun to dominate the concerns of student radicals. On Vietnam the Republicans and the Democrats were as one, and the students sensed that something more deeply imbedded in American society than political parties explained this consensus. Clearly, exposing obvious defects in the society and working for specific reforms were not enough to change America. These problems were rooted in the social and economic order of modern capitalism, which system must be overturned. Thus, SDS turned to organizing a radical movement that would seek to supplant existing institutions. Its 1966 National Convention made the new role explicit by calling for members to develop themselves as organizers of a mass movement for change. The Wobblies became an important symbol of the new SDS defiance of the established order.

If any such movement is to succeed, it must develop a long-range perspective that will aid in building a constituency. After six years, SDS still faces the problem of defining strategies and programs that will carry the radical movement beyond campus-based student protests. In part, the problem is organizational. Among the many criticisms of SDS, one that is valid is its almost total decentralization. A national office does exist and convention and national council meetings decide organizational policy, but almost no attempt is made to implement national programs. Campus chapters launch programs without consulting the national office, which has barely enough funds to pay staff salaries and print the SDS weekly paper, *New Left Notes*. Little effort has been made to alter this condition and at best, the policy proposals adopted at national meetings are broad enough to leave the chapters a good deal of room for "doing their thing."

Decentralization of the organization becomes an increasingly severe hazard as SDS membership grows. Since 1965, one older member puts it, "the organization has been literally swamped by thousands of new recruits from every part of the country, exhibiting an astonishing range of political viewpoints, aspirations and degrees of sophistication." Many of the new people were moved by an emotional reaction against the Vietnamese War; others were part of the young culture revolt against the society in general. Both groups critically needed deeper political understanding if they were to sustain any commitment over the long haul. Lacking long-range goals and frustrated by the inability of SDS to do anything about what they see as the major issues of the society (war in Vietnam, the draft), many of the new recruits simply "burn up" in the movement. Although SDS continues to grow, a great many people slip away from the organization into one of the varieties of nonpolitical life styles that now exist on most campuses.

More important is the political development of the organization itself. At odds with the existing society, SDS must be extremely careful that its actions will remain radical, yet relevant to the concerns of Americans. The moralistic attitude that characterized the early days of SDS has been supplemented by a strong focus upon "political perspectives": What sort of issues radicalize people? How should SDS handle these issues? Can SDS actions fit into the overall development of the radical movement in the

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society? When political moves are discussed on the national level, SDS members divide broadly into two tendencies: theoretical activists and plain activists.

The theoretical activists are usually well read in Marxist analysis and concerned that SDS programs reflect certain ideological assumptions of socialism. They view immediate issues in a long perspective, seeing the remote implications of particular programs. Specifically, the theoretical activists are concerned that SDS members should not be co-opted by corporate liberals such as Kennedy and McCarthy. Although they all see themselves as revolutionary Socialists, the political differences among theoretical activists are immense (the sources of much of their thinking include Maoism, Third Camp socialism, varieties of Trotskyism and anarchism).

While the theoretical activists have been gaining ascendancy in recent years, the organizational tone and style is still more often set by the plain activists. These latter place less stock in theoretical perspectives and more in short-run strategies and tactics to radicalize people. Possessing a less cohesive critique of American society, the plain activists seek to create social dynamism on many levels. They are often unclear about the development of radical programs from action and thus tend to be less critical of their organizing projects. While most plain activists hold a revolutionary view toward change in the society, their perspective for the future development of the movement is very unclear.

Within SDS there is no strong conflict between theoretical activists and plain activists. For the most part, the theoretical activists dominate discussions of international politics and of future programs, while the plain activists are more concerned with domestic issues and with immediate tactical and strategical plans. Both positions can be held in different contexts by one person and very often programs are so formulated that the interests of each group are satisfied.

The tension between the theoretical activists and the plain activists is most apparent when the quesion of SDS or New Left ideology is discussed. The theoretical activists argue for a strong Socialist perspective that will clearly define organizational goals and priorities. The plain activists agree vaguely that some form of socialism is the goal, but say that SDS needs more experience at organizing before any ideology can be adequately formulated. This disagreement between the theoretical activists and the plain activists makes it exceedingly difficult to formulate an SDS national perspective, except in the broadest generalities. Although outdated and unrepresentative of what SDS believes today, the Port Huron Statement, issued in 1962 as the movement's ideology, has never been revised. The lack of consensus puts off systematic discussion of ideology, and the organization usually debates issues on the basis of tactics and strategies, with little attempt being made to see questions at longer range.

A recognition that analysis and education were needed if issues and programs were to evolve a durable ideology led to the establishment of the Radical Education Project, and later when REP became independent of SDS, to the Radical Education Center. Yet, the fear of many SDS members that internal education meant boring and useless intellectual discussion, when analysis should be arrived at through experience, has severely limited the effect of internal education programs. These projects offer empirical information and a variety of political perspectives, but have done little to provide ideological alternatives or develop new programs.

The inability to develop a more substantial ideology has often meant that the worst aspects of both theoretical and plain positions emerged in SDS actions. When the theorists predominate, SDS actions are apt to be couched in boring, often pretentious rhetoric which strait-jackets the organization in sectarianism. When the plain activists are ascendant, actions are superficially planned, their implications unclear; and they are not followed by critical evaluation of success or failure. SDS must reach some agreement between the theoretical activists and the plain activists if ideological consistency and national programs are to develop. Until it does, the organization will spend its efforts flip-flopping from issue to issue with no clear idea of what lies ahead.

Horner, New Statesman

Major style problems for both groups are the excessive reliance on rhetoric and the failure to back up demands with concrete programs. This happens in part because local chapters overestimate the present strength of the student Left power which they know is growing. They assume mass campus support when little is present and fail, therefore, to organize thoroughly. The use of rhetoric probably reached its height last fall during the demonstrations against war research and recruiting when provocative actions and simplistic analysis were frequently apparent. On review, it became clear to SDS chapters that their programs tended to isolate them from campus and ultimately hampered the organizing of students. While SDS chapters are responsive to the call to create "two, three, many Columbias" (and no doubt the Columbia experience will be duplicated elsewhere), few will act unless they feel that local situations will be improved by massive confrontations. SDS's apprehension about recent efforts

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to plan huge demonstrations at the Democratic Party Convention this summer indicates a growing concern to avoid actions which are self-isolating.

While national SDS is beset by financial, organizational and ideological problems, the strength of the organization lies with the local chapters. These vary considerably in their activities and strength. The University of Michigan chapter won a number of victories during the academic year of 1966-67, but this spring lost a major referendum on the question of secret research on the campus. Through a series of actions on many issues, Princeton SDS has grown considerably during the past year, establishing a large following and influencing university policies. The University of Chicago SDS, which in 1966 held an important confrontation with the university over the ranking of students for draft purposes, has not reached that height of support on campus since. Chapters sometimes coordinate their activities, as last fall when campaigns were launched against university membership in the Institute for Defense Analysis. However, the allegation that Columbia was selected as a target for disruption by "an SDS meeting in Maryland" is nonsense. Anyone with the slightest experience of SDS chapters knows that all actions are planned by local chapters according to local conditions.

At the campus chapter level, the distinction between the theoretical activist and the plain activist loses meaning as all efforts are focused on the next demonstration, teach-in, rally, guerrilla theatre, seminar, or the varieties of other tactics used to dramatize and discuss issues. SDS chapters stress activism. Programs have been developed for student power over dormitory hours, judicial matters and other non-academic affairs. On many major campuses, a recent issue has been the presence of classified research and war-industry recruiters. In the past year the major noncampus issues have been the draft and the Vietnamese War, but many chapters are now beginning to develop programs around electoral politics and the Presidential campaign. Although most chapters attempt to base programs on specific issues, a good deal of their activity is launched in response to campus and world events as the chapter organizers seek the "right issue" to radicalize the campus.

Success is measured by the growth of the chapter and the impact it has upon the rest of the institution. Most chapters are sources of literature, speakers and films, often providing the only political perspectives on major domestic and international issues on campus. In some areas, particularly those not near a major urban center, the SDS chapter serves a social function, attracting many hippies and others whose life styles do not mesh with the campus stereotypes.

Normally a small group of committed people do the major organizational work, and they are instrumental in the establishment of chapter programs. The rest of the chapter has been described as the "shock troops." Although they endorse programs and provide the bodies for demonstrations and confrontations, a wide gulf usually separates them from the leadership. The shock troops often lack the political articulation of the leadership, and since they rarely participate in the informal formulation of programs they have little effect upon chapter actions. Almost every SDS chapter goes through an annual attempt by chapter leadership to get the shock troops involved in positions of leadership.

A whole generation of activists is emerging from the experiences gained in local campus activity. Rather than possessing "apocalyptic fantasies" of being "nihilistic revolutionaries," as many critics have complained, SDS is developing a cadre of organizers comparable in skill to those who emerged from the CIO drive of the 1930s. They are articulate and politically aware. Moreover, they learn from their mistakes and are extremely conscious of the skill and power of their opponents.

Actions by local SDS chapters have a "spin-off" effect in the development of locally based radical projects. Usually focused on one specific issue, these local groups are staffed by people sympathetic to SDS. The establishment of draft resistance projects organized in working-class and ghetto neighborhoods has been partially motivated by SDS people. Another development has been the growing number of private community schools where children learn unhampered by boring, regimented classrooms and where parents can have a say in educational politics. Particularly successful schools now exist in Ann Arbor and San Francisco. Several SDS labor projects have made contact with workers by supporting strikes and rank-and-file insurgencies. The activities of women's liberation groups have involved many who would have been intimidated by the male-dominated SDS chapters. Finally, a whole series of publications, films and underground papers have sprung out of the protest culture. Centers like *Liberation Press Service*, *The Movement*, *The Guardian* and the *Newsreel* have given the New Left a substantial communications network. While these media simply report activities with little or no analysis, they reflect the present intelligence needs of the movement. The organizational chaos of national SDS stands in contrast to the strength and activity of local chapters and these independent groups. They are the backbone of the movement.

On both local and national levels two particularly pressing problems affect SDS members. The transformation of SDS into an organization for radical change has made most of the membership painfully aware of the isolation and limitation of the student movement. Another aspect of this problem is the need felt by the older members to develop roles for themselves after college.

Although a middle-class student organization, SDS has always been concerned with working with "agents for change" in the society. In 1963, this led to the formation of the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) which called for SDS members to leave their campuses and go to work organizing poor and black people in Northern ghettos. Today, most of the projects have folded, often because organizers were unclear about what issues to raise and were uncertain as to what constituted a radical perspective when working with the poor. Furthermore, as the war in Vietnam became the overriding issue, a good deal of enthusiasm drained away from the projects and many of them were terminated before they had time to try out their organizing ideas.

In contrast to the ERAP days, SDS now talks about or-

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ganizing the working class or the lower-middle class. For a brief time in 1967 the idea of organizing the "new working class"—engineers, technicians, teachers and some skilled workers—enjoyed considerable vogue, but with few actual organizing efforts initiated, the idea dropped from view. SDS members recognize the privileged role of students in the society, and they sense that ordinary people can see issues in a very different light. As yet, however, this knowledge does not dampen the militancy of student protests, for most SDS members feel that working people will support their actions when they see "how bad things are."

A good deal of debate in SDS now centers on how to reach the majority of working people. Those possessing a traditional Socialist perspective emphasize organizing around the work place, particularly among workers in major industrial areas of the country. Yet going into the shops requires discipline, a strong sense of goals, and adjustment to boring, repetitive and often dangerous work. For these reasons the number of SDS members active in the shops is relatively small.

A more commonly accepted approach is organizing in the neighborhood. As part of the National Community Union, an organization growing out of an ERAP project located in Chicago, many SDS members will this summer be living in poor white and working-class neighborhoods, going to bars and simply "getting to know folks." It is hoped that after this experience some will remain in the neighborhoods for serious organizing, or commit themselves to organizing after college. In spite of this activity, organizing "in the heart of America"—in lower-middle-class and working-class communities—draws precious few SDS people off the campus.

The problem of isolation takes another form when SDS relates to the actions of blacks. Although SDS members support black attempts to achieve self-determination, essentially they remain spectators. At a recent SDS national meeting, Carl Oglesby, former president of the organization, called for support of black struggles rather than opposition to the Vietnamese War as the major SDS issue. His speech was enthusiastically received, but no programs for making SDS actions relevant to blacks have emerged. In part, this reflects the growing loss of contact between white radicals and the blacks.

Another hindrance has been the feeling by most SDS members that whites cannot and should not take part in black affairs. What white radicals should do is organize whites against racism. Ever since SNCC's first articulation of black power, SDS has proclaimed this goal. Yet it simply has not been done. For the most part SDS has stood aloof, while white racism has intensified.

What may pull SDS off the campus is that the early members of SDS must now find ways to remain active in the movement after completing college and graduate school. Since many SDS members are intellectually gifted, they often land either in the best graduate schools, or in professional training as doctors, architects, urban planners, etc. In most of these professions, SDS members, trained to identify with the peanut-butter-and-jelly life styles of the community organizer, find themselves falling into an affluence that encourages them to sell out. The problem is also political, for those that are interested in organizing remain very isolated from the student movement.

Last year the question of "radicals in the professions" became critical for the older SDS members. The Radical Education Project has generated much discussion on the question. In general, it is widely agreed that radicals should be active organizers in their professional roles. University-trained people might see themselves as teaching not in the Ivy League or Big Ten schools but in a community college or a working-class high school where organized radical activity is at a minimum. For radical doctors, the goal might be to work in a ghetto area, teaching community people medical skills. For urban planners, it might be working on community planning with lower-income people. Whatever the means, the thrust of this approach is to break away from the elitist attitude inherent in many professions.

More ambitious plans call for professionally trained individuals to work with community organizing projects. For example, if a project were established in a working-class area, radicals might get jobs in the local high schools, social work agencies or hospitals. They would work closely with the organizing activity using their skills to set up community schools, medical co-ops, a community newspaper and other institutions that form part of any successful organizing project. While this sort of coordination has been discussed, little has been done. An exception is a community project based in a white middle-class section of Chicago where such programs as draft resistance, high school organizing, and establishment of day-care nurseries have proved successful in the development of a radical community organization.

Another approach emphasizes organizing on a professional basis. High school teachers work with the newly formed radical causes within the American Federation of Teachers. Doctors, architects and urban planners have established organizations which are devoted to shattering the conservative image of these professions. When a large number of radicals find themselves in the same occupation, it is at least feasible to form a nation-wide organization that is expressly political in its professional concerns. Such is the case with the recent establishment of a new organization, the New Universities Committee, of radical university faculty and graduate students. [See "New Universities Conference: The Dilemmas of Resistance" by Norman Birnbaum, *The Nation,* April 22.]

There are many problems. Certain professions place strong constraints on radical activity. Middle-class life is often just as isolating as the campus. Professional work is stimulating and many lose sight of their political functions while becoming good doctors, lawyers or teachers. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of enthusiasm, and many of the older radicals identify themselves and their activities directly with SDS (some name their local organizations Movement For A Democratic Society). There is even talk of creating an adult New Left organization that would serve the interests of the older SDS members.

What lies ahead for SDS? With the possibility of the war ending and the political thaw bringing forth a new liberalism, SDS probably will not continue to expand at the pres-

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ent rate. This might be beneficial. An end to the fighting would eliminate many of the frantic Vietniks, Left sectarians, and others from SDS, whose identification with the organization is based more on personal problems than politics. A solution in Vietnam would also mean that attention could again be given to domestic issues, and particularly to socio-economic problems that have received little original thought from SDS in the past two years. They are the issues that concern the majority of America.

In the short run, the end of the war will probably make the student movement smaller. But it may also allow it to develop more cohesive domestic programs and possibly to resolve some of its organizational problems. In addition, there seems a strong likelihood that in the next few years an adult New Left organization will be established. If it is to reach the goal of creating a radical political movement in the country, SDS will be forced to mature. In its future activities, SDS might borrow a phrase from the early days of union organizing in the auto industry: "Take it easy, but take it."

Big Bust on Morningside Heights

MARVIN HARRIS

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At 2:30 A.M., Tuesday, April 30, a thousand New York City policemen attacked an approximately equal number of students barricaded inside five Columbia University buildings. The action lasted three hours and injured at least 148 persons in varying degrees. Many students were thrown or dragged down stairways. Girls were pulled out by the hair; their arms were twisted; they were punched in the face. Faculty members were kicked in the groin, tossed through hedges, punched in the eye. Noses and cheekbones were broken. A diabetic student fell into a coma. One faculty member suffered a nervous collapse. Many students bled profusely from head wounds opened by handcuffs wielded as weapons. Dozens of moaning people lay about the grass unattended. At one point an estimated 2,000 spectators were set upon by the police and pinned against the gates. Outside the campus, mounted police chased screaming knots of people, young and old, up and down Broadway in a scene from *Planet of the Apes*. It took a line of paddy wagons stretching along Amsterdam Avenue from 118th to 110th Street to carry off the 720 persons who were arrested. They were driven away, unrepentant, beating on the bars, cursing the police, President Grayson Kirk and Vice President David Truman.

It would seem self-evident that an event so contrary to the routine and purpose of a great university compels all who were its victims and participants to speak out concerning what happened, to establish the sequence of events, and to contribute to the analysis of both remote and immediate causes. Yet there are many members of the administration and faculty who feel that the well-being of Columbia requires rapid termination of all such inquiries, and the development of an attitude of studied indifference to the questions of who and what were responsible for the disaster. There is much talk about the need for "binding up the wounds" and for forgetting in a spirit of constructive reconciliation acts and statements produced under stressful circumstances.

I do not impugn the motives of the majority of these hushers and forgetters, but I do challenge their assumptions about what it will take to secure the university's future. The attempt to discover and disseminate truth is at all times the proper function of professors and students, but we all know that the truth seldom proclaims itself in a simple blinding image, jointly experienced by all observers. Establishing the truth in human affairs is in part a political process in which theories and anti-theories are the symbols of conflicting wills and countervailing interests. The search for the truth at Columbia is thus an aspect of an unfolding political struggle. Under these circumstances, to remain quiet in the name of academic dignity is to take a highly defined political position.

The number of Columbia faculty who are perfectly aware that political acts manifest themselves in not doing or saying as well as in doing and saying is probably as great as at any university in the world. Columbia's faculty are linked by personal and commercial bonds to New York's intellectual establishment, and many enjoy in their own right the privilege of being literary or sociological muezzins. Yet in the present crisis this enlightened faculty has given little evidence that it comprehends how loudly dignified silence speaks for the *status quo*.

Most astonishing is the failure of the liberal Columbia establishment, hitherto identifiable by vanguard efforts in civil rights and the peace movement, collectively to take a principled and unambiguous position on a single important issue in the current dispute. While the buildings were occupied, the segment of the faculty from which an independent critique of the situation might have been expected consumed its energies in a futile attempt to mediate between the enraged students and the equally enraged administration. These mediation efforts were conducted by the steering committee of an informal, self-constituted group of concerned instructors and professors, who called themselves the Ad Hoc Faculty Committee. The good will and dedication of the majority of this group and of its steering committee are beyond dispute. Their analysis of what was happening, however, was inadequate. The actions and in-actions which they undertook, in conformity with certain false assumptions, resulted in a series of unintended disasters, culminating in the great bust.

By playing the role of mediator, this group actually

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prevented the beginning of negotiations between the administration and the students. The Columbia administration has repeatedly asserted that "we ignored no opportunity for negotiations," and the news media have stressed the assertion that student intransigence during negotiations between the administration and the strikers left the administration with no alternative but to call in the police. Contrary to popular impression, there were few sessions during which members of the students' strike steering committee and members of the administration actually met to talk with each other. To communicate with the students in Hamilton Hall—"liberated" by black students and converted to Malcolm X University—the administration relied on a number of high-level mediators supplied by the Mayor's office and the black community. As far as the students in the other four buildings were concerned, however, there appears to have been only one instance of what might be called a negotiating session. This took place early in the morning of Friday, April 26. Thereafter, for almost four days preceding the police action, there were no negotiations with the main body of the strikers. Instead, numerous delegated or self-appointed members of the Ad Hoc Faculty Committee rushed back and forth between the students and the administration, sounding out both sides with a series of proposals intended to serve as the basis for a start of negotiations. Some of these suggestions —as, for example, the so-called Galanter-Trilling-Hovde proposal for the creation of a tripartite disciplinary body —were actually voted on by the Ad Hoc Faculty Committee. But many other proposals that were dangled before the students were purely the result of the momentary fancy of the faculty mediators.

Even when a proposal had been voted on by the Ad Hoc Committee, the students were correct to view it with skepticism, since if they agreed to a particular point, there was no way for the Ad Hoc Committee to guarantee that the administration would endorse its side of the bargain. Several faculty mediators actually tried to split the strikers by deliberately proposing solutions which they knew would appeal to students in some of the buildings but not in others. It was common for faculty mediators to tell students that they had already won two of their main objectives—termination of the gymnasium project and severance of all ties with the Institute of Defense Analysis—and on this basis to appeal for the withdrawal of their other demands, especially the demand that the strikers not be punished. Yet the faculty mediators could not guarantee the ultimate decision of the administration on either of these issues and, by the existing charter of the university, were completely at the mercy of the Board of Trustees in all such matters. The faculty mediators asked the strikers to trust them, pledging their professional integrity and moral influence, but the students became increasingly distrustful of the divisive solicitation carried out by representatives of a faculty group whose legitimacy from the point of view of the administration was as dubious as that of the strikers themselves, and who in the actual situation seemed even more powerless.

Contrary to official pronouncements and to the misrepresentations of the mass media, there is no evidence that the Columbia administration ever seriously intended to clear the occupied buildings (with the exception of Hamilton Hall) by means of negotiation. The chronology of events at Columbia has been so complex and rapid that even many participants have forgotten that the police were first officially asked to intervene on the second day of the strike—12:30 A.M., Friday, April 26—four days before the actual bust. The circumstances of this call and the reasons why it did not result in an attempt to clear the buildings must be given due consideration. On Wednesday, the 24th, at an official meeting of the faculty of Columbia College (presided over by President Kirk and Vice President Truman) a motion had been passed asking for the peaceful settlement of the dispute and trusting that police action would not be used. The sentiment against police action was further confirmed on Thursday when more than 200 members of the Ad Hoc Committee affixed their signatures to a document, point 4 of which stated: "Until this crisis is settled, we will stand before the occupied buildings to prevent forcible entry by police or others." In conformity with this resolution, shifts of faculty volunteers had been maintaining a twenty-four-hour-a-day vigil at the entrances to the struck buildings. By late Thursday evening, however, there were many rumors indicating that the police were about to be used. At midnight, a high-ranking member of the administration appeared before the Ad Hoc Faculty Committee to insist that the rumors were baseless and that the administration did not contemplate any such action. One half-hour later a hush fell over the group as Vice President Truman—in his final appearance before the Ad Hoc Committee—entered the room. "I know you are not going to like what I have to tell you, gentlemen, but five minutes ago President Kirk was on the phone asking the Mayor for permission to use the police to preserve peace and order."

This announcement, coming so close on the denial, elicited voluminous hissing and booing and an almost unanimous cry of "shame!" Most of the faculty rushed from the room to take up positions in front of the buildings; a handful remained to phone the Mayor's office to ask that the police be stopped. Some contingents of police actually did go into action. At about 1:15 A.M. twenty-five plain-clothes men charged the entrance to Low Memorial Library and injured several faculty members who stood in their way. But the crowd around the building had grown to dangerous proportions. It included large numbers of faculty and students, some of them opposed to the strikers' demands but united in their opposition to the use of

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the police. The administration wavered and called off the action (which it had probably intended as a means of clearing only Low Memorial Library, leaving the other buildings to be dealt with on a separate basis).

To the faculty who had interfered it was made clear that the administration was determined to pursue a hard line and that under no circumstances would it consider amnesty for the strikers. Influential representatives of the faculty accepted the rejection of amnesty as an ultimate and unmodifiable condition. They merely argued that it was too soon to resort to the police since there was still a possibility that some students could be split off and made to come out of the buildings by offering leniency rather than amnesty. The administration replied, in effect, that it would give the faculty a few more days to talk some sense into the strikers, and the sleepless faculty mediators hurried back to their task with a renewed sense of urgency.

But in accepting the administration's intransigence on the amnesty question, the faculty mediators ceased to be mediators and became instead the more or less unwitting accomplices of the administration's plans to use physical force to crush the strike and then to jail and expel the strike's leaders. When it gradually became clear to the students that the faculty mediators regarded the no-amnesty position as a requisite for negotiations, the strikers became increasingly hostile to and suspicious of the Ad Hoc Committee, and in some instances refused to speak further with its representatives.

The response of the faculty to the administration's threat to seek a bloody solution to its long-festering problems with radical students was either spineless or masochistic. This was an administration which could ill afford to give ultimatums to its professors. It was an administration which had foolishly risked the physical survival of the Morningside Heights campus by clinging to a disputed construction site in a public park overlooking what is perhaps the world's most volatile ghetto. Obviously, there are other ways to provide adequate gymnasium facilities. The university recently built a twelve-story school of business on top of the old gymnasium—Uris Hall, named after the family of one of the trustees—right in the center of the campus. A simple matter of dollars and cents prevented the remodeling of the old gymnasium under Uris or the construction of a new one in place of Uris. The park site, at $3,000 a year for 2.1 acres, seemed a tempting deal. But a university is not a construction firm or a discount department store; it is a semi-public corporation whose budget must include social costs and social benefits.

As officers of the corporation, the faculty could well appreciate the efforts made by the administration to hold the line on expenses and to manage the endowment funds with proper sobriety. The benefits of such policies could at least be passed on in the form of lower tuition and higher salaries. The paradox here is that tuition at Columbia has risen faster than the cost of living, while faculty salaries have barely kept pace with the rate of inflation. The only reason why there has not been a mass faculty exodus to schools which offer $4,000 to $5,000 per annum above Columbia's salaries at the associate professor level is that the artistic, intellectual and commercial fringe benefits of New York City subsidize the cost of keeping the faculty in place. On the other hand, the reason why the trustees have not been able to pay the faculty at the going market rate—according to a recent analysis of the fiscal condition of private universities carried out by the Ford Foundation—is that they have been unduly conservative in their investment policies. There has been too much concern with mortgages, not enough with common stocks. (The only institution with greater real estate holdings in Manhattan is the Catholic Church.) In other words they have been acquiring real estate—and thus making a mess of community relations—in the name of an investment policy which crippled the university's finances.

The trustees' capacity to subordinate social values to a false sense of economy is well illustrated in the case of the Strickman cigarette filter. In that instance the president of the university proposed to link increments in faculty salaries to the sale of carcinogens. On the basis of wholly inadequate research and testing, Dr. Kirk himself gave what amounted to a TV commercial in which the university urged the public to buy its filter because it produced less tar per puff. Kirk was later obliged to withdraw this claim under questioning by the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee, and subsequent tests carried out by qualified members of the university prompted the administration to abandon its plans for cashing in on the cancer business.

There are further indignities for which the faculty might have been expected to hold the administration accountable. Not the least of these consists of a series of misrepresentations concerning the extent of university involvement with CIA cold-war research, especially through Columbia's Regional Institutes and the School of International Affairs. More immediate to the present crisis, however, was the assurance given by the dean of the Graduate Faculties to several hundred people in Low Memorial Library on March 23, 1967, that "Columbia has no institutional connection with IDA" (the Institute for Defense Analysis). Subsequently, student activists forced the administration to acknowledge that its graduate dean had been mistaken and that Columbia had been an institutional member of IDA since 1960. On March 30, 1967, IDA's vice president, Norman L. Christeller, informed the student newspaper: "We consider Columbia to be one of the three or four primary university sponsors of the IDA."

The most remarkable aspect of this confrontation between suspicious students and a less than candid or ill-informed dean, is that Columbia's connection with IDA was a public arrangement, the conditions of which were available to anyone who was curious enough to ask for IDA's unclassified reports. With one or two exceptions, however, Columbia's large contingent of pro-McCarthy, anti-Vietnamese War liberals (not to mention the politically apathetic center that makes up the majority of the faculty) remained ignorant of the university's tie with IDA or failed to grasp its significance. In this instance at least, the student activists carried out a genuine educational task on a matter of paramount importance to the entire university community. They did indeed educate their professors, however unorthodox their teaching methods.

Columbia's affiliation with IDA was institutionalized through a contract which named Grayson Kirk as a mem-

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ber of IDA's Board of Trustees. The chairman of the Board of Trustees of IDA is William A. M. Burden who, in addition to serving as a director of the Allied Chemical Corporation, American Metal Climax Corporation, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., Lockheed Aircraft Co., and the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., is also one of the trustees of Columbia University. In a brilliant example of the intellectual triviality of micro-focused political theory, Columbia's David Truman recently argued that Burden's additional affiliation with Columbia was a mere "accident." Other members of the administration have attempted to pooh-pooh the IDA tie on the ground that no substantial contracts have been established between IDA and Columbia for specific research purposes. (Kirk called IDA "a phony issue" on the C.B.S. program, *Face the Nation* May 5). Although it is true that direct contracts between IDA and Columbia have been negligible (one for $18,950 is known), IDA's influence on campus has been substantial indeed.

Through Lawrence O'Neil, former associate dean of Columbia's School of Engineering, the university has been deeply involved in projects coordinated by IDA. One of IDA's most important divisions is known as Jason. It is to the Jason Division that the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency assigned the task of coordinating work on the theoretical analysis of "ballistic missile defense and exoatmospheric nuclear detonations" (*Science*, 17 May 1968, Vol. 160, p. 746). O'Neil has been a steady consultant to IDA. O'Neil is also the director of what used to be Columbia's Electronic Research Laboratory, now called the Riverside Research Institute. Under O'Neil, the Electronic Research Laboratory enjoyed a budget of $5.5 million a year, much of it derived from classified research concerned with the development of radar systems for ballistic missile defense under contract with the above mentioned Advanced Research Projects Agency. No doubt this is another one of Dr. Truman's "accidents." Recently IDA has turned to research more directly associated with the Vietnamese War, concentrating on such projects as: Small Arms for Counter-Guerrilla Operations, Tactical Nuclear Weapons, Chemical Control of Vegetation, Night Vision for Counter-Insurgents, Interdiction of Trucks from the Air at Night, and Helicopter Aural Detection of Tactical Situations. The extent of the university's involvement in these projects is suggested by the fact that when adjunct professor of physics, Richard Garwin, a member of IDA's Jason Division, took a trip to the Far East early this year, he touched off a world-wide rumor that tactical nuclear weapons were to be used in Vietnam [see "The Secret Thinkers," by Michael Klare; *The Nation,* April 15].

In 1965 IDA noted that it "was proud to grace the pages of our report with scenes of the campuses of our Twelve Member Universities" (see *Science,* 17 May, 1968, p. 748). I invite my colleagues who have husbanded the political independence of their university, and who have scrupulously refrained from using Columbia's name in their off-campus activities, except for identification purposes, to reflect on the audacity of a unilateral administrative decision which committed the entire university to the support of developing weaponry systems for a military clique.

It was the students who pressed for the exposure of Columbia's contribution to IDA. Having collected 1,800 signatures on a petition requesting the end of the university's connection with IDA, 200 students entered Low Memorial Library to confront Grayson Kirk with their findings. They were told that they were in violation of a ban on indoor demonstrations, and five of their leaders were placed on disciplinary probation. To protest this action, the students called a rally. Attended by more than 500 sympathizers, the rally ended in an abortive attempt to enter Low Memorial Library. The students were deflected by the campus guards, veered off toward Morningside Park, and pulled down the fence surrounding the gymnasium construction site. When one of the demonstrators was arrested by the police, the group returned to the campus. After some hesitation, they decided to invade Hamilton Hall, and to take a dean hostage in return, they said, for the student they had lost to the police. Thus the IDA issue met and fused with the gymnasium issue, leading directly to the strike and the big bust.

I share a feeling of repugnance with my liberal colleagues over the vulgarity and brashness of some of the actions of some of the students. A professor's sense of style is inevitably jarred by the crude slogans and tactics being used. From the students' point of view, however, there is, in turn, something seriously lacking in the faculty's style. From teaching too long, they apparently have forgotten how to be taught. They take their lessons very ungraciously and seem to want to make the students suffer for having achieved a superior understanding of the true nature of their university.

The failure of the administration to act quickly and seriously in response to various student charges concerning the university's complicity in the detested Vietnamese War contributed heavily to the breakdown of trust and communication between the student activists and their administrative counterparts. Columbia's destiny up to now has been under the control of a Board of Trustees consisting almost entirely of top-ranking businessmen—directors of more than sixty banks, insurance companies, utilities and manufacturing corporations including IBM, C.B.S., Con Ed, Ford, Equitable Life, Shell Oil, AT&T, Metropolitan Life, Irving Trust Co. and the Chase Manhattan Bank. Insofar as these men are leaders of bureaucratic empires which our best students associate with massive acts of social irresponsibility, evasion, hypocrisy and exploitation, their image is unsuited to attempts to establish cross-generational dialogues under the present circumstances. Nothing which the trustees of Columbia University have done during the past two years has indicated that the negative impression which they create on young minds thirsting for principled commitments to life and humanity is incorrect.

The disparity in class identity, and hence in social values, between the trustees and the majority of students, is clearly one of the fundamental causes of the strike and of the catastrophic bust. Contempt for the "establishment" has reached crisis proportions throughout wide segments of the youth of the developed nations. Too many people in the older generation have tended to ignore or

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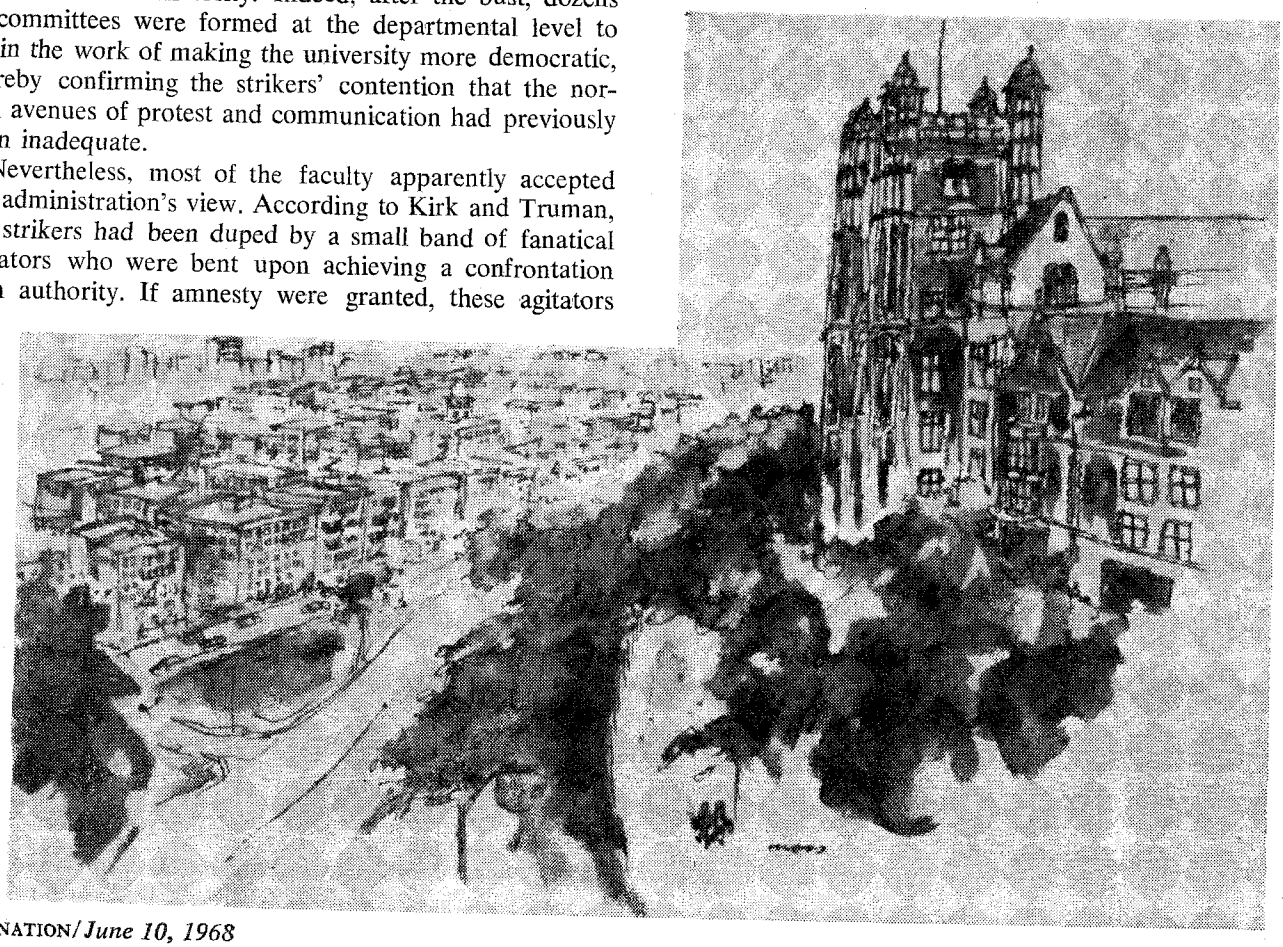
dismiss these manifestations of distrust and disillusionment as mere youthful aberration. Thus, the final indignity suffered by the faculty was that the administration had let its relations with the student body deteriorate to the point where five of the university's buildings were under siege, with the rest of the university virtually paralyzed. And then to solve the problem, the administration declared itself irrevocably determined to precipitate an even larger catastrophe by inviting the police to attack its own students and professors.

Why didn't the faculty step in and demand that the administration grant amnesty or, at the very least, indicate that it held the administration to be as much in need of amnesty as the students? Why didn't the faculty indicate its own unalterable determination to oppose a solution through force? Evidently, most of the faculty refused to accept the students' arguments on behalf of amnesty. These arguments rested on the following principle: The seizure of the buildings had been carried out in order to awaken the university community to the ethical blunders of the IDA affiliation and of the gymnasium site. Due to the authoritarian structure of the university, there were available no adequate democratic means of redress. Hence, amnesty rather than punishment was required, since people should not be punished for bringing about changes which, as among the faculty, were widely regarded as necessary and just. It should be noted, furthermore, that most of the faculty were convinced, even before the police action, that student interests were inadequately represented at the university. Indeed, after the bust, dozens of committees were formed at the departmental level to begin the work of making the university more democratic, thereby confirming the strikers' contention that the normal avenues of protest and communication had previously been inadequate.

Nevertheless, most of the faculty apparently accepted the administration's view. According to Kirk and Truman, the strikers had been duped by a small band of fanatical agitators who were bent upon achieving a confrontation with authority. If amnesty were granted, these agitators would be back in the buildings every other week, and the university would be incapable of discharging its educational responsibilities. Although the administration admitted that the claims about the lack of democratic representation were in part true, it held that the students had violated the rule of law. According to Truman, law and morality are identical. Hence, the transgressors must be punished. In accepting these arguments, it must be supposed that the faculty were especially concerned about the rifling of Grayson Kirk's files by strikers who occupied the president's office in Low Memorial Library.

I believe that there is a connection between the mentality expressed in the Columbia administration's viewpoint and that which was responsible for driving this country deeper and deeper into the Vietnamese War. It is the domino theory, all over again. If we don't punish the revolutionaries for taking over the president's office, how are we going to stop them from taking over the entire university? The answer, as we have almost learned in Vietnam, is that if there are well-formed structural reasons for mass resentments against existing laws and authority, the dominoes have a good chance of falling no matter how many policemen are brought in to shore them up. The threat of radical political change cannot be met by strategies which are temporarily successful in the prevention of muggings or shop lifting. On Tuesday, April 23, there were only about 150 hard-core members of Students for a Democratic Society (and most of these were opposed to a confrontation). A week later, at the height of the strike, more than 6,000 students were actively ex-



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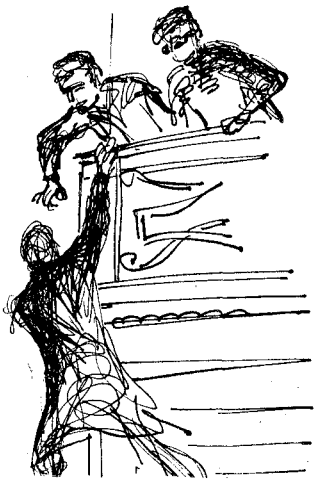
pressing their hostility to the Columbia administration. Was this the work of a handful of superstudents whose demagogic skills proved too much for the honest defenders of the university's good name? The proposition is as absurd as trying to blame the Third World's hostility toward America on agitators like Che Guevara or General Giap. On Thursday, April 25, a referendum at Columbia, carried out under independent student auspices, showed that students were in favor, 4,093 to 1,433, of ending construction of the gymnasium. The vote for ending ties with IDA was carried, 3,572 to 1,855. (In large part the strikers in the buildings did not vote.)

It is clear that the original handful of protesters had been able to convince 1,000 of their fellow students to join them in the occupation of the buildings at great personal risk because the issues involved in the strike were relevant to the deeply felt social needs of additional thousands of students. To propose that amnesty would have meant recurrent invasions of Low Memorial Library at the whim of irresponsible anarchists is to insult the intelligence and to demean the social conscience of many of the university's brightest and most responsible students. They were not in those buildings to protest a ban on panty raids, or to demand higher grades or better food in the dorms. The issues involved were of supreme importance: racial prejudice and *de facto* discrimination; complicity of the educational establishment in the slaughter of an innocent peasantry. As long as the university's policies remain ambiguous on these issues, it can expect periodic visitations from larger and more militant striking bodies. Calling in the police at Columbia or elsewhere will only make such confrontations bigger.

I regard it as regrettable that the strikers broke into President Kirk's files and copied documents out of his private correspondence. But breaking into official files (the strikers refused to acknowledge Kirk's right to have secrets about Columbia) was not the worst offense. The most serious act was the overnight detention of the acting dean of Columbia College and two of his assistants in Hamilton Hall. This was the only instance in which the strikers could be said to have committed crimes against persons as opposed to crimes against property. After 5:00 A.M., Thursday, April 25, all of the white strikers left Hamilton Hall and the hostages were held until 3:00 P.M. by black students. In addition to holding hostages, some of the blacks (allegedly nonstudents) were said to have been in possession of firearms. These same students threatened the administration with the specter of mobs summoned up from Harlem who would burn the campus to the ground. When Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael broke through the police barriers on Friday, April 26, to confer with the blacks inside Hamilton Hall, the very survival of the university hung in the balance.

Despite the violent nature of the threats which the blacks in Hamilton posed, the administration's strategy from the outset was to deal with the white students in the four other buildings on a separate and harsher basis. Mediators sent by the Mayor's office—William Booth, Theodore Kheel and Sid Davidoff—conferred with the blacks in Hamilton, but not with the whites in the other buildings. According to David Truman (as quoted in *Newsweek*, May 13), the blacks were immediately made "an offer of nothing more than disciplinary warning" (virtual amnesty). The reason for this special treatment, said Truman, was that the blacks were "a totally different cut as far as performance is concerned," as compared with the whites. "I must say I admire the way they conducted themselves." This novel form of racism appealed to others as well. At the Ad Hoc Committee, distinguished professors arose to plead for separate treatment of the blacks on the ground that they had behaved like gentlemen, while the whites in the other buildings were like wild beasts. Finally, late in the afternoon preceding the bust, when many members of the faculty knew that the police action was imminent, Prof. Lionel Trilling openly argued that the time had come for granting amnesty to the blacks and only to the blacks!



One of the consequences of this indulgent attitude toward black strikers was that none of the black students in Hamilton Hall was injured during the bust. They exited through underground tunnels under the watchful eyes of William Booth and Kenneth Clark. While Clark and Booth complimented the police on their exemplary handling of the black students, pandemonium reigned in front of and inside the other buildings. (Clark, however, later condemned the police action in the rest of the campus.) What was said to the black students in order to get them to walk quietly into the paddy wagons is a source of continuing speculation. The point here, however, is that many faculty members, who found the notion of amnesty abhorrent when applied to the white students, found themselves ready to forgive and forget when it came to the blacks—even though the blacks took hostages and constituted the gravest physical threat to the university.

It is clear that the harsher punishment recommended for the white students (and already received by them at the hands of the police) has nothing to do with principles of law and equity. There are plenty of precedents in the labor movement and in the civil rights movement in this country for granting amnesty to demonstrators who have committed trespass. Recently the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association staged a strike in defiance of the laws of the state of New York. Their action resulted in the accumulation of refuse in the streets to the point of menac-

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ing the health of 8 million people. When Mayor Lindsay put their leader in jail, the Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller himself, granted him a pardon!

In the light of the recent history of Columbia's administration, it is difficult to accept Kirk and Truman's assurance that they took a hard line only because it slowly dawned on them that they were up against a completely cynical band of opportunists and demagogues. Everyone seems to have forgotten that an unprecedented shake-up in administrative personnel took place less than a year ago in which the provost and dean of faculties, the vice president and the dean of the graduate faculties, among others, abruptly resigned en masse. Truman, who was then dean of Columbia College, moved up to the specially created post of provost and vice president, leaving only an ineffectual acting dean behind him in the college. At the same time, the post of dean of graduate faculties was left unfilled. Thus during the month immediately preceding his fatal confrontation with the students, Truman was in virtually unqualified control of the statutory or *de facto* powers formerly possessed by two deans, the provost and the vice president!

Nor was this an "accident." The massive shake-up in question occurred shortly after the launching of Columbia's $200 million fund drive, the largest ever undertaken by a "private" university. To explain the sudden departure of almost every top-ranking administrator except Kirk, the university issued a statement in which the success of fund-raising activities was said to depend upon the greater centralization of administrative authority. The significance of this explanation was lost upon the majority of the faculty and students. The main problem in reaching the $200 million goal was not, as it then seemed, a question of lack of coordination and organizational diffuseness. Rather, the problem was that pressure from the neighborhood community and from the "radical" anti-draft and anti-war students threatened to blow the whole university sky-high. It is known, for example, that the former provost, Jacques Barzun, was unable or unwilling to control his contempt in the presence of neighborhood protesters. It was known also that former Vice President Lawrence Chamberlain was far too concerned about the disagreeable side effects which occur when unruly students are squashed down to size. His departure for a prolonged fishing trip in Colorado marked the end of ideology at Columbia. Truman took power precisely because he thought he knew how to keep the lid on, at least until the fund drive was completed: it was the hard line.

Almost exactly one year before the big bust, the pattern for disaster had been laid down in conformity with Truman's understanding of the science of campus politics. The SDS, in familiar possession of the university's jugular, was about to administer the *coup de grâce* to $200 million. They were seeking to prevent the United States Marine Corps from recruiting on campus. There had already been an ugly brawl when a group of college athletes attempted to clear out several hundred protesters who were baiting the Marines about Vietnam. The Marines left the campus, but they were scheduled to return the next day. What to do? The crowds would be bigger and both sides would be more eager for violence. Yet how could a needy American campus refuse to play host to those widely traveled, clean-cut patriots? The Marines came back, largely on Truman's assurance that he could maintain order. Two groups of opposing students, numbering perhaps 1,000 on each side, threatened each other throughout the day; but aside from a few minor fist fights, Truman's decision seemed to have been vindicated. Asked why he had chosen to risk the physical welfare of so many of his students on behalf of an organization which had nothing to contribute to campus life, and which did not lack for opportunities to get its message across to the nation's youth, Truman replied: "If we had given in, there would have been no end to their demands. We had to stand firm or they would eventually try to take over Low Library."

The students, outraged by the moral ambiguities of the administration's response to their substantive demands, escalated their own tactics to meet the challenge of Truman's campus *Realpolitik*. When the administration placed a ban on indoor demonstrations, they collected their 1,800 signatures and held a demonstration inside Low. Truman played the hard line again and tried to pick off the five most important leaders of SDS with disciplinary probations. Meanwhile, the fund drive was lagging and the pressures to keep the campus quiet were greater than ever. At some unknown point, well before the bust, it became clear to Truman that his career as an administrator was now wholly dependent on his ability to rid the campus of the band of agitators who refused to knuckle under to his textbook show of force. Similarly, the idea at some point got across to the students that only the most radical of measures stood a chance of deflecting Kirk and Truman from their determination to sanitize the campus and to ignore the justice of the students' substantive claims. I do not condone the student take-over of the university buildings, but I regard it as wholly undemonstrable that the administration was interested in providing the students with genuine alternatives.

After the bust, when Truman was asked at a press conference if he had any advice to give other college administrators, he replied without hesitation: "Don't wait. Call in the police." Apparently, he still believes that the only thing wrong with his hard line was that it wasn't hard enough (especially when he hesitated because a few faculty members had gotten in the way).

Four weeks after the bust the students were back in Hamilton Hall. In the "second battle of Columbia," another 170 students were arrested and an even more vicious and uncontrolled display of police brutality was unleashed across the campus. Flailing out on their own, with a premeditated disregard of constitutionally guaranteed rights of due process, the administration is moving toward the suspension or expulsion of perhaps as many as 500 of its students whom it has charged with criminal trespass. In this grim fashion political identities will be acquired by the various segments of the university. Members of the faculty, who have been so troubled to decide if they approve or disapprove of meeting the complaints of their students by wounding and expelling them, will have plenty of additional opportunities to make up their minds.

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SONAR AND RADAR

THE TIN EARS OF WAR

JACK ROBERTSON
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At 9:20 A.M. Tuesday, August 4, 1964 (Washington time), the National Military Command Center in the Pentagon got a "flash red" cable from Vietnam. The U.S.S. *Maddox*, Navy destroyer on a secret spy mission in the Gulf of Tonkin, reported enemy ships approaching. An attack appeared likely. Soon after came an intelligence report "from an unimpeachable source"—presumably from eavesdropping gear on the *Maddox* or her sister ship, the *Turner Joy*. North Vietnamese patrol boats had been ordered to attack.

By 11 A.M. wires were cascading into the war room. The *Maddox* said it had sighted what appeared to be the cockpit lights of patrol craft passing by in the ink-black night. The *Turner Joy* said two torpedoes had missed it. Intelligence reports, again probably from monitored enemy radio, said an attack was under way. Later intelligence overheard the enemy commander reporting that he had inflicted damage and shot down two U.S. planes.

The welter of messages now began to contradict one another. Former Defense Secretary McNamara testified that even now, three and a half years later, precise details of the August 4 incident are not fully certain.

Five hours after the first report, the war room got a most perplexing cable from no less than Task Force Commander J. J. Herrick: "Freak weather effects and overeager sonarmen may have accounted for many reports. No actual visual sightings by *Maddox*. Suggest complete evaluation before any further action." The Naval Commander in Chief in the Pacific phoned that he had no doubt an attack had taken place—but had doubts as to its nature and details.

Yet at 6:30 P.M.—four hours after the Pentagon was advised to go slow—the order went out to bomb North Vietnamese territory in retaliation. At 7:06 P.M. the Pacific Naval Command was still cabling the *Maddox* and *Turner Joy* to confirm the attack on them. That night, in the first major escalation of the war, the United States flew sixty-four sorties against bases in North Vietnam, destroying a third of the country's fuel storage. Two days later the Pentagon finished sifting all the Tonkin messages and concluded that an attack had taken place.

The Pentagon leaders spent a seven-hour talkathon at Senate hearings trying to justify the Tonkin-incited air strike, but hardly a word in the 110-page record answers Sen. J. William Fulbright's prefacing question: are we doomed to repeat this crisis confusion? As a case study of Pentagon crisis reaction, Tonkin Gulf can scare you out of your wits. It was based on sonar reports of enemy torpedoes, radar sightings of patrol craft, intercepted enemy messages, and the ships' own reports, former Secretary McNamara testified. All these factors could be present in any future confrontation.

Garbled sonar reports akin to those of the *Turner Joy* and *Maddox* are present continuously in U.S. military networks around the world. Few reach the brinkmanship level of Tonkin Gulf, but the confusion is just as great.

Some evidence now suggests the *Turner Joy* sonar may have picked up its own noisy engines at full speed. Or its own wake in the zigzag dodging to escape enemy boats. The Defense Department still does not explain what the "overeager sonarmen" actually saw. Comdr. Herbert Ogier, senior officer of the *Maddox* in 1964, now believes most of the echoes on his sonar scopes were from his own ship. Reached in Houston where he is NROTC commander, Ogier said the *Maddox* was making sharp turns to avoid the presumed enemy attack, and sonar picked up the ship's own rudder. However, the destroyer was not maneuvering when sonar detected what Commander Ogier believes were two torpedoes. As for Commander Herrick's caution on "overeager sonarmen," the former *Maddox* captain said: "There are sonarmen and there are sonarmen."

Sonar operators today face even tougher tasks. Nuclear submarines slink quietly through ocean depths, and sonar strains harder to detect faint echoes in the surprisingly noisy world of the sea. On top of this, the enemy has an arsenal of sound decoys and countermeasures to mask sub and torpedo noises. These sound "spooks" create false targets, blot out the sounds of the real threat. The Navy has developed electronic wizardry to sift this underseas bedlam, but it has not ended guesswork. The *Maddox* and *Turner Joy*, by their own reports, were hampered by no countermeasures. Even so, their sonar sightings were ambiguous.

Early-warning bomber and missile radars face the same perplexities. The Air Force operates radar networks so powerful that they could spot a grapefruit 1,000 miles in space. Not surprisingly, these giant antennae pick up thousands of mysterious blips—officially tagged Unidentified Target Data (UTD). Researchers at the University of Texas believe some of them to be insects.

Dramatic incidents may be isolated, and expert radar operators have learned to live with the myriad of smaller mystery targets. But in time of tension, could "overeager radarmen and freak weather effects" create another Tonkin Gulf? The builders of the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS) now laugh about the alert flashed shortly after the radars boosted power. The target? The full moon coming above the horizon. Radars were later adjusted to ignore the moon. Even "flying saucers" have shown up on radar screens. Allen Hynek, astronomer and chief Air Force investigator of Unidentified Flying Objects, confirms that U.S. jets once scrambled after a UFO sighting.

Department of Defense strategists are calling for even

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more sensitive warning nets—over-the-horizon radars that could reach all the way to the Soviet Union or China. This makes detection even trickier. Over-the-horizon radars bounce their signals off the ionosphere and get target echoes back the same way—much like short-wave radio. Just as one struggles to tune in the fluctuating and fading short-wave signal, over-the-horizon radarmen sweat to pick up an echo a hundred times weaker.

If there is an all-out missile attack, early-warning radars will certainly spot the skyful of terror. But what if only one or two suspicious targets are picked up? The white phone rings in the National Military Command Center, as in the Tonkin crisis. But now the warning time is twenty minutes—three minutes if it is a Russian FOBS suborbital bomb. How do you decide whether or not it is a live missile?

The Communists continually test our warning reflexes. Recently four Soviet bombers penetrated warning nets to within 150 miles of U.S. air space. The Canadian Government later disclosed previous probing flights. Russian tracking ships regularly ply international waters just off the East Coast. The State Department has confirmed four 1964 Soviet spy-ship intrusions inside U.S. waters. At least twice Soviet spy trawlers have shadowed our ships so closely as to collide with them. This Soviet "playing-with-matches" policy adds to alert jitters. (And there is every reason to believe that we also play the game.)

The Tonkin crisis also raises the question of decisions based on intercepted enemy messages. On August 4, the Pentagon relied heavily on four Communist messages to confirm the attack: (1) a command ordering the attack; (2) reports from the vessels that they were preparing to attack; (3) that the attack was under way; (4) the enemy commander's report after the attack that damage had been inflicted and two U.S. planes shot down (none were).

How reliable is the enemy as an "unimpeachable source" on his actions? In the Tonkin affair, intercepted enemy messages were as confusing as our own. If we add the enemy's own contradictions to our radio frenzy, have we clarified anything?

Sen. Albert Gore questions just how much stock we can take in exaggerated enemy reports—at least whether we should go so far as to base a major retaliatory strike on them. The United States is certainly enthusiastic about intercepted spy messages. The Air Force runs more than 200 eavesdropping radio posts around the world. It flies twenty "big-ear" spy planes, each as large as a Boeing 707 and crammed with monitoring gear. Snooping satellites fly over Russia and China to spy on radio communications. The Navy operates spy ships of the *Pueblo* and *Liberty* class and a flotilla of spy destroyers.

In any given crisis, the decision makers have a dossier of enemy messages. What's more, the enemy knows it. How then do we know when the enemy deliberately feeds us lies to mislead us in our eavesdropping? Electronic lying is an old ploy. World War II airmen at times falsified radio navigation signals to throw off the Japanese and German fighter planes and flak stations.

Today, electronic "spoofing" rivals Buck Rogers. Our radar bounces off an enemy target, but he changes the radar signal before sending it back to us. We get a completely fake target—and sometimes no target at all. Planes and missiles regularly fire decoys to throw off enemy radars and heat flares to confuse infrared-tracking missiles. There are even decoys for decoys—to cause a plane to exhaust its flares and radar chaff on a false target and become a sitting duck for attack. In such mayhem, can a future Tonkin Gulf separate bogus from real targets?

Time delays plagued the Pentagon in its Tonkin deliberations. Hours after the first alert, the war room was still trying to get reliable evidence of an attack. The nerve center has not improved greatly. In the more recent *Pueblo* spy-ship seizure by North Korea, the President was not notified until two and a half hours after the alert. By this time the *Pueblo* was already secured by the Communists and there was no chance for action. For the pickings, the Communist world got a first-hand inspection of the latest U.S. spy gear, throwing U.S. world-wide intelligence operations into a quandary.

The Defense Department is now setting up a world-secure "hot line" so that the war room, or the President, can talk directly to any commander in the field. Eventually this "white-phone" network may be extended to talk to the front-line soldier himself. Even so, the new million-dollar network may not solve the problem. If the President had been able to talk directly to the *Maddox* on that August 4, could he have learned any more about the contradictory reports?

The pitfalls possible in crisis decisions do concern the Defense Department. The Joint Chiefs of Staff compiles study on top of study of decision making. Even the Tonkin deliberations are the subject of a top-secret investigation, "Command and Control of the Tonkin Gulf Incident, 4-5 August, 1964." Believed written by the high-level Weapons Systems Evaluation Group, the report should make interesting reading. Unfortunately, the Pentagon has dodged releasing it.

The Fulbright committee did release an anonymous letter from a Pentagon inner-circle worker. "One of the things your committee should really look into is the constant use of security regulations to conceal the blunders in the field of national security. . . . Right now the Joint Chiefs of Staff is refusing materials in their field wanted by people working on Vietnam for the Secretary of Defense, most obviously because they are fearful it would serve the Secretary of Defense's purposes, not theirs." Pentagon leaders dismiss the charges as coming from "faceless accusers." But other Americans besides the nameless defense employee may share the concern.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Through the Lens of Social Vision

LEWIS W. HINE AND THE AMERICAN SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. *By Judith Mara Gutman. Walker & Co. 156 pp. $12.50.*

TOWARD A SOCIAL LANDSCAPE: Bruce Davidson, Lee Friedlander, Garry Winogrand, Danny Lyon, Duane Michals. *Edited by Nathan Lyons. Horizon Press. 67 pp. $4.95.*

12 PHOTOGRAPHERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL LANDSCAPE. *Rose Art Museum. Catalogue of a show. Brandeis University.*

ALAN TRACHTENBERG
Mr. Trachtenberg teaches English and American studies at the Pennsylvania State University.

The meaning of the depression was created as much by the camera, in the work of Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange and the entire Farm Security Administration project, as by lists of statistics and political rhetoric. The images certainly have a superior staying power; history reaches us concretely, in postures of people and in palpableness of textures. It can be said that the camera is chiefly responsible for our point of view toward the depression. The intention of the FSA project was not polemical; it was a form of anthropology, undertaking a comprehensive photographic survey of American social life for the record. But the feeling which emerges from the thousands of prints made under its auspices is one of complete engagement between photographer and subject. The camera became an instrument in a self-conscious search for identification and for the meaning of a historical moment. This engagement, with its compassion for the poor, its regret for the assault of technological change upon rural society, its indignation at economic injustice, accounts for the prevailing idea of strength and resistance to social forces the pictures communicate. In mass they constitute a remarkable document of hope.

Lewis Hine's work, with its freely accepted rhetorical purpose of protest and reform, is an unmistakable precedent for the social photography of the 1930s—and just as unmistakably a stark contrast to the work of contemporary photographers of the "social landscape." The difference between Hine and Robert Frank, Bruce Davidson, Lee Friedlander, Garry Winogrand, and others represented in these monographs (both based upon exhibitions) is in part a difference between the social scenes of 1910 and 1960. But more important is the dramatic difference in point of view toward the respective scenes, in commitment and in intention. Fundamentally it is a difference in social vision, and can thus serve as a revealing measure of intellectual and moral changes in American life.

Lewis Hine was a classical social documentist. He was driven by a hatred of injustice and a belief in good will as a means toward social change. His work serves as a form of historical memory, a record of formative experiences in American society early in this century. Immigration, urban poverty, agricultural and industrial working conditions—these were the general headings within which he produced his "photographic documents of social conditions, 1905-1939" (his title for a comprehensive collection now at the New York Public Library). For Hine the camera was an instrument of social analysis and the picture a means of persuasion. His images are icons of a social system. With the same quiet, unassuming impersonal persistence with which Atget explored Paris streets making *documents pour artistes* of stone façades, street types and shop windows, Hine traveled exhaustively, through New England, the South, the Middle West, recording his evidence of American life. In many cases his subjects were "given" in the nature of assignments from such groups as the National Child Labor Committee, the Red Cross, the TVA and the WPA. But the "historical record in pictures" (another of his titles) he produced derived more from his intuitive response to the revelatory images as they appeared on his ground glass than from any programmatic criticism of American society.

The task of assembling a collection of Hine's work, in order to represent him accurately as a major artist, is formidable. The condition of available prints and negatives is often poor; many of his negatives are lost, leaving only abominably printed pictures in books and magazines as the sole version of some of his finest work. Beaumont Newhall has pointed out that in true documentary photography not only is subject primary but the final print as an object for itself is very much secondary. Documentary photographs are meant to be seen and felt as widely as possible; they are meant for the mass media, not for gallery hangings. Hine did much of his early work for charity and reform journals, for reports and bulletins (he began photographing in 1905, and had the first of three shows during his lifetime in 1920). In the past decade the several collections of his work have been mined for illustrations of poverty, of pre-World War I city scenes, and of working children, for magazines and books and advertisements. Many of these pictures, especially of wan and sallow girls operating spinning machines, have become standard public images of past conditions. As a figure, even as a name, Hine is far less known than several of his pictures—perhaps attaining thereby the status of authentic anonymous folk artist.

A thorough survey of available materials, biographical as well as photographic, is the first step toward preparing this figure for study. And this groundwork has been undertaken with talent and efficiency by Judith Mara Gutman. Her book is the result of impressive research, and her bibliography, especially of magazines and books in which Hine's pictures first appeared, is an excellent and generous contribution.

To rescue him from anonymity, Mrs. Gutman wants to present Hine within the context of American social and intellectual history, and at the same time to establish his importance as an artist on aesthetic grounds. A lengthy introduction, written with enthusiasm, places Hine in relation to "the American social conscience"—particularly in relation to the reform impulse in the progressive period. Mrs. Gutman conveys sympathy for Hine's personal struggles, especially against neglect of his work as a photographer. Also, the introduction suggests an approach to the pictures which takes into account the broad outlines of Hine's response to urban, industrial America, a response, Mrs. Gutman argues, rooted in rural, Midwestern values. An alternation between city and nature, between images of oppressive factory labor and satisfying handicraft labor, she points out, pervades Hine's work. The approach is thus quite helpful in reconstructing a pattern of interaction between artist and society, between art and social reality.

At its best all writing about photography seems redundant in the presence of the pictures. Mrs. Gutman quotes Hine himself saying in 1909, "the picture is a symbol that brings one immediately into close touch with reality . . . . In fact, it is often more effective than the reality would have been, because, in the

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picture, the non-essential and conflicting interests have been eliminated." The author's own most important interpretation of Hine lies in her selection and arrangement of his symbols of reality. As a picture editor she makes certain choices one may question ("Long Leaf Pine," which shows that Hine had an eye, though not an extraordinary one, for nature, seems a curious print with which to open the section on immigrants); but all editorial selections are bound to raise questions. It would have been helpful if the editor had included somewhere a clear statement of her principles of selection; aesthetic and historical considerations seem often to vie with one another. But on the whole the group of pictures provides a valuable guide to the variety of subjects and treatments in Hine's canon: immigrants, working children, adults afflicted by industrialism, World War I refugees, the construction of the Empire State Building, and rural life in the 1930s.

The largest group of pictures is of children. These are Hine's most powerful and affecting photographs. Most of them were made as documents for charity and reform organizations; they are an epic assault on child labor, which is redefined in these images as child desertion, heartless and self-indicting. These pictures are an equivalent to Blake's *Songs of Experience*, a vision of innocence debased and exploited by an inhumane social system. They serve the *coup de grâce* to the 19th-century American cult of the child, a rebuke to genteel idealizations. "There is such a thing, in the United States," wrote Henry James in 1907, "as the freedom to grow up to be blighted, and it may be the only freedom in store for the smaller fry of future generations." Hine provides the visual testimonials to what James in the same passage called "the weight of the new remorseless monopolies."

The image of innocence betrayed is also an image of innocence affirmed. Hine's pictures of blight imply a social conscience and the possibility of change by appeal to that conscience. The iconography of his pictures insists upon identifying a definite social reality for the sake of suggesting what needs to be changed. Characteristically, his pictures project social reality through perceived relationships: children to adults and to machines, to factory gates and closed doors. He rarely allows a figure to isolate itself from a setting.

Sometimes the relationship allows for an easy irony; a little newsboy in dirty shirt and worn boots strides manfully along on a street corner in Washington, heading right for the camera, a bundle of papers, his man-sized "burden," under his arm; to the left, having just crossed his path, is a ludicrously bosomed society dame, her attention drawn momentarily toward the camera but not enough to stop her haughty gait—and surely she has hardly noticed the boy—the plumes of her hat, the shine of her boots, the leather of her gloves, all setting her in a social world alien to newsboys and indifferent toward them: in the background, the wide, clean avenue and the white stone of a government building in the baroque capital—high society and the state both ignoring the social realities spawned by their system (in 1909 Hine illustrated a book on Washington slums, *Neglected Neighbors in the National Capital*, in which he uses the dome of the Capitol building as the central ironic symbol in several pictures).

A less obvious commentary is made in a picture of a small newsboy sitting in a doorway, catching some sun and browsing, like an adult, through one of his papers. He is flanked by two well-dressed, derbied men, probably drummer types, each slouching on iron railings on either side of the doorway, sunning themselves, bemused by the passing scene. Nothing sinister at all—except that no one in the group is aware of any of the others. The commentary resides in the visual impact of such inner preoccupa-

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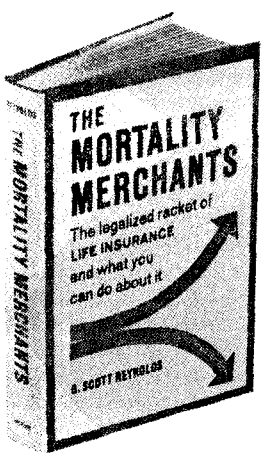
by G. Scott Reynolds



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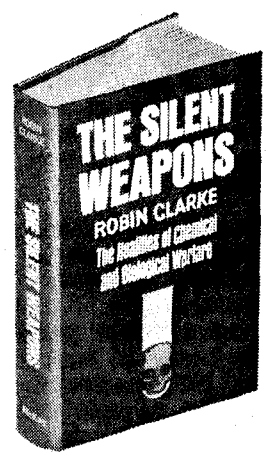

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tion which isolates each from the other, especially in the presence of the virtually deserted newsboy. The whole social system is implicated in that image.

As in the case of Atget and Paris, Hine's pictures are not merely records of city streets but of the artist confronting and interacting with the evidence. Hine's pallid girls, posing forlornly in corridors formed by dark metallic spinning machines, are pictures of his own responses to the scene. His signature, like Atget's, is a firmly maintained distance, a respect and a refusal to sentimentalize and exploit the children for the sake of self-congratulatory emotion. Hine knew his material so well—it was the kind of material which allowed for uncomplicated emotion—and came to know and master his camera as an instrument of his knowledge, that it was unnecessary to interfere with the process of seeing by adding "artistic" touches of studio lighting, fuzzy focusing or contrived poses. His aim was to allow the essential reality to express itself, as it does in the dull eyes and hardened hands and mouth sores of his factory angels. You feel with Hine's best work as with Walker Evans' that the details of the picture from border to border fill out entirely and contain to the fullest the artist's intention; it is a feeling of an identification between the compassionate eye and its drastically selected object, complete and final and innocent.

And something else, more difficult to define: a sense of the picture retaining the quiet drama of the original confrontation between subject and artist, a confrontation in which the subject, perhaps for the first time in his blighted life, senses himself being taken seriously as a human being. As the child looks out at you from these haunting pictures, you feel that he is looking not at you but at himself, seeing himself as a consequence of being seen. This quality makes Hine's best photographs human documents in a very moving sense: they are human-making images.

Isolation, inner preoccupation and social dislocation also mark the contemporary work, but social causes are not nearly so clear to the eye. The typical relationships in the new social landscape seen by these young photographers are fragmented, disconnected, obscure: a television set playing to an empty bed, random reflections of faces superimposed on reflections of cars and furniture in store windows, empty interiors of launderettes, subway cars, automobiles. The new images are often swift, taken on the run, of moving things from moving things. Perspective is rarely defined as a clear position, either physical or moral, outside the subject; they propose, with very rapid cameras, to present a view of the city from within. There is no effort to judge but instead to express. The snapshot or the passing glimpse seems the appropriate vehicle for a society which has lost a sense of whole relationships. It is also appropriate that many of the glimpses contained in these volumes show man-made but uninhabited landscapes; emptiness conveys the leading feeling of social desolation.

On the whole this is brilliant work, but deeply disturbing and disengaging. The irony is far more subtle, sophisticated and literary than Hine's rhetorical irony, which always points to an obvious discrepancy between norm and reality. An example is Lee Friedlander's magnificent picture of an American flag laid out in what appears to be a grocery store window, part of the display, flanked by tin cans; to the right, out of deep shadows, the foot of an old woman appears, shoe, ankle, part of calf, and nothing more. We are removed from her, even from knowledge of her, as the flag and its meaning is from the canned foods. The textures are all commonplace: dirty concrete pavement, tin, some kind of artificial composition at the base of the store window, creased leather, flesh and bone encased in heavy stocking. The meaning comes to us through the juxtaposition of these materials—the limp spread-out flag, the canned food, the foot. It is a juxtaposition utterly devoid of comprehension. We are not invited to inquire what it means, how it happened, or why, but only to accept it and experience it as disconcerting meaninglessness. There is no humor blacker than this.

In such a perceived landscape irony assumes a function much different from Hine's; it becomes self-protection, and thus the wit itself is an index to an underlying social point of view. These pictures contain no emblems of hope or even comprehension. More than specific landscapes or icons, they represent acts of seeing, a style of response in which the act itself contains the commentary: detached, high-speed, micro- and telescopic. The anatomy is exposed cold-heartedly. Apathy, loneliness, anomie, are not simply reflected but ingrained in the chrome and formica and plate-glass surfaces which carry their distortions to the eye. Many of these pictures can be read as illustrations to the themes of alienation and debasement of popular culture, discussion of which passed for our most serious social analysis until recently. For this reason the photography of the new social landscape runs a risk of triteness, of overstatement to the point of cliché. But many of these works seem, like Pop art, to embrace the cliché. They seem mordant celebrations of a plastic environment. In a deserted drive-in movie (it is daylight), the blank screen addresses little listening posts arranged neatly like so many soldiers. Prefab houses crowd the brow of a ridge above the screen. Not a soul in sight. Probably all inside watching TV. Glutted with artifacts, with artificialities, this social landscape suffocates. The word "social" itself becomes a bitter joke. Many of these pictures leave the feelings paralyzed, gripped in fear and mystification.

Although this inclusive account necessarily blurs the many distinctions among these dozen or so photographers, they all share a vision of a directionless affluence. Hine's children have been liberated from the mills, but the victory over poverty and exploitation seems hollow. This is, of course, the *inner* sense of these new pictures. Social landscapes shift in the eyes of the observers, and the outward scene, the reality created by photography, originates in part within. We can expect images of social landscape to reflect transformations in cultural value, in social desires. In this sense social documentary can serve as a guide to the inner landscapes of our time.

ON YOUNG RADICALS

However we judge the young radicals, to describe their search is to enumerate the problems of our changing, affluent, and violent society, a society that has barely begun to catch up with the dilemmas it has created. The new radicals are right when they argue that our problems lie deeper than a particular election result or a particular war in Southeast Asia. Ours are in fact the problems of a new kind of society trying to find its way in a new kind of world where cataclysm is only a button away. Few of us know how to live wisely and well in such a world: that fact is reflected in the deep malaise, violence, and inner divisions of America and the world. The new radicals are at least confronting the central issues of our time, and confronting them more directly than most of us can afford to. They are asking the basic questions, making the mistakes, and perhaps moving toward some of the answers we all desperately need.

From *Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth* by Kenneth Keniston (Harcourt, Brace & World, $5.95). A study of a group of young people, during the months of June to September, 1967, involved in Vietnam Summer, an organization opposing American policy in Southeast Asia. A section of this book appeared under the title "Young Radicals & the Fear of Power" in *The Nation*, March 18.

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From Elegant to Hip

TELL ME HOW LONG THE TRAIN'S BEEN GONE. *By James Baldwin. The Dial Press. 484 pp. $5.95.*

ROBERT EMMET LONG
Mr. Long will teach English at Queens College in September. He has written for Commonweal *and* The North American Review.

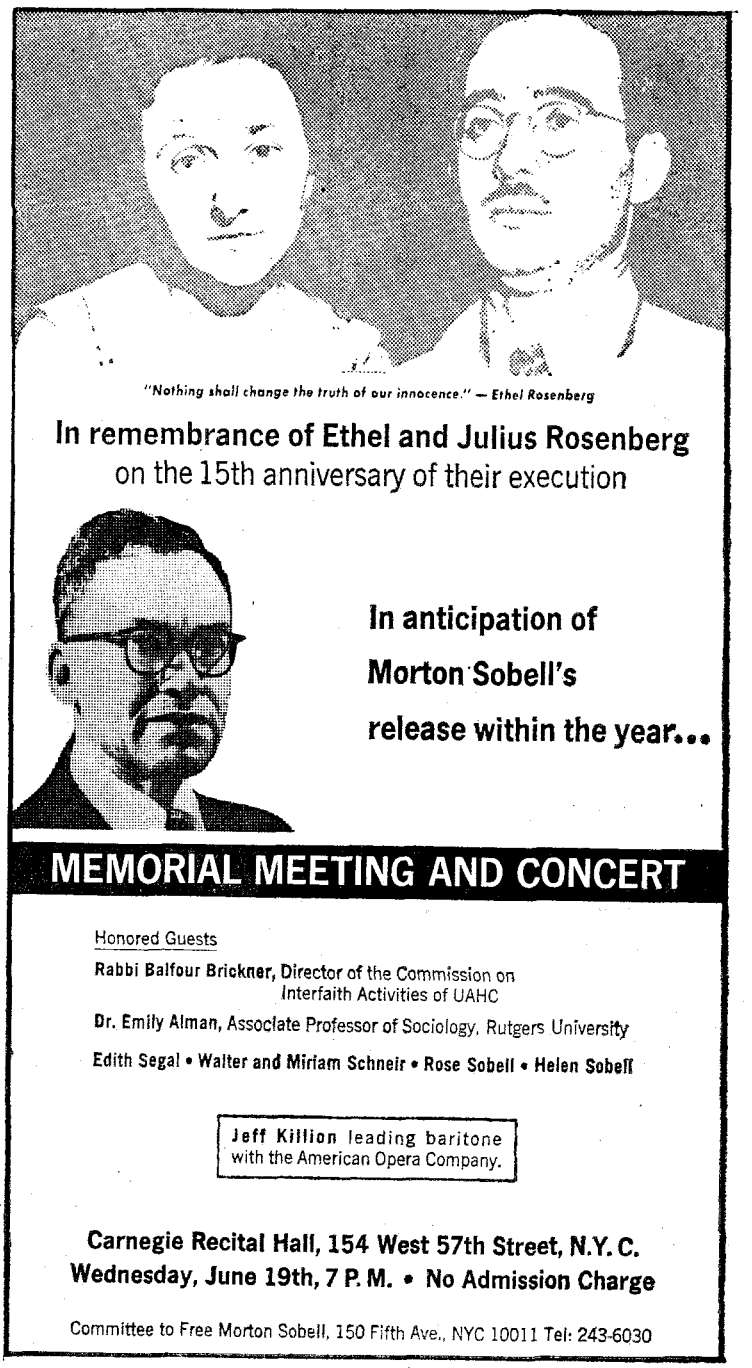
In *Advertisements For Myself* (1959), Norman Mailer patronized James Baldwin as "too charming a writer to be major." He called him too genteel and aerated to tell off his readers in four-letter words, and added that "one itches at times to take a hammer to his detachment, smash the perfumed dome of his ego, and reduce him to what must be one of the most tortured and magical nerves of our time." Two years later, in "The Black Boy Looks at the White Boy," Baldwin defended himself against Mailer's charges, declaring his right to his detachment, his commitment to be, simply, an artist. But Mailer's criticism was prophetic, and may even have been influential. For Baldwin has almost ceased to be an artist, and has indeed become a tortured nerve.

Notes of a Native Son and *Nobody Knows My Name* are works of rare distinction in contemporary American writing, expressing a passionate outrage at the social injustice, racial bigotry and ignorance that destroy both the oppressed and the oppressor. In these early essays, Baldwin's intelligence functions brilliantly, coolly, preserving always a sense of proportion—seen in the arrangement and progression of the essays that operate on different levels at once. There is first the personal anguish of the writer, "a confessional" role that is subordinated to the larger issue of all of black America, and its demand for human dignity. Then there is the question of America itself, and its search for identity in its past and present. Many of Baldwin's best insights illuminate our national psychology, and he is able to do this because his anger is held in poise by his desire to see clearly and to understand justly.

This was the early James Baldwin, the young man who wrote in polished sentences for *Partisan Review,* and although his audience was as yet limited, his promise seemed great. Baldwin's second novel, *Giovanni's Room* (1956), was part of this early period. His worldly characters (all of whom are white) and Parisian setting, his attempt to strike an "intelligent" and detached tone—indicate that Baldwin was allying himself with the novel of Henry James. *Giovanni's Room* was unsuccessful however; and not because it was too intelligent, too *raffiné* but because it was not intelligent enough. At the core of the novel, there was a mawkish self-pity for the victim of society whom Baldwin had himself sent arbitrarily to the guillotine.

The Baldwin of *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* has abandoned his admiration for James, together with his earlier poise and detachment. Where he had once worked for a "civilized" tone, he now assumes a hipster stance, contemptuous of the "square" world, by which is meant everything that has to do with the white man's assumptions. There is little aesthetic control in *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*; the novel sprawls (Baldwin had once practiced austere economy), its characters hardly created, and the flashback and flashback-within-flashback technique is handled awkwardly. His once polished prose now seems lusterless, and his diction fluctuates incongruously from the elegant to the obscene. His insights are unremarkable and blurred.

Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone is the life story of Leo Proudhammer, a 39-year-old Negro actor who suffers a heart attack as the novel opens. He has driven himself too hard estab-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lishing his talent against the odds a Negro faces in the theatre. In a series of flashbacks, we review his early humiliations in his boyhood Harlem, his apprenticeship in a summer stock theatre in New Jersey, his Bohemian years in the Village, his first success that starts him to the top of his profession. The ending is bright with photographers' flash bulbs, as the great Leo Proudhammer is interviewed by the press, and receives the homage of a grateful nation. But Leo Proudhammer is not happy, although he has fame, power, wealth and love. Indeed, he can barely control the hatred he feels for the mental suffering he has endured at the hands of white America. He denounces Christianity as the white man's swindle of the Negro; the creature of his bosom is a young black nationalist who, at the end, goes off to buy guns.

If Baldwin's theme is the failure of love, American coldness and callousness that set up artificial barriers between human beings (it is the theme also of *Giovanni's Room* and *Another Country*), the counter-theme is love's redemptive power. Love's redemption is meant to be shown in a scene in which little Leo and his older brother Caleb engage in an act of mutual masturbation; in a sense, this scene speaks for the immaturity of the whole book.

But *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* is more than a novel with an argument, as are Sinclair's *The Jungle* and Richard Wright's *Native Son*. For the novel takes much of its interest from, and is centered upon, the sex life of Leo Proudhammer, who is a virtuoso, bedding down alternately with females and males. A young white Southern heiress named Barbara King devotes her life to him, and many others—Negro and white, male and female—fall in love with him during the course of the novel. Since Leo bears a certain resemblance to Baldwin himself, one feels that psychological strategies and fantasies are being acted out in Leo's conquering prowess as a bisexual; that he is in fact passive; and that his fury and rage against whites is an inversion of self-hatred. If Baldwin has bared his ego in *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*, it turns out to be a very large one, haunted by bad dreams. In the end, ego reduces the novel to a work of self-indulgence.

Lure of the Polar Profits

THE POLAR PASSION: The Quest for the North Pole. *By Farley Mowat. Little, Brown & Co. 302 pp. 210 illustrations and maps. $15.*

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS
Mr. Gibbons has written on the subject of American Arctic exploration for the journals of the Stefansson Collection at Dartmouth College, the Department of Northern Affairs in Ottawa, and the Centre d'Etudes Arctiques in Paris.

If for no other reason, the fact that even the once isolated Thule Eskimos of northern Greenland now have the dubious distinction of joining the farmers of Palomares, Spain, in the category of having a "lost" hydrogen bomb in their neighborhood, Americans might be prompted to dig out a map of the North Polar regions.

If they do so, an examination of some of the most forbidding and remote parts of North America will reveal an assortment of many of the names identified with the robber baron era of American capitalism: Cape Thomas Hubbard, Morris Jesup Land, Cape (James) Colgate, etc.

This was no coincidence, of course. Explorers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were not wholly visionary in their quest for Polar glory; they were in many instances pragmatic enough to finance their journeys by pre-selling names of yet undiscovered landmarks to rich patrons. All of which is not just incidental intelligence in the thread which is woven through Farley Mowat's latest book, *The Polar Passion*.

Mowat has not become as well known as he perhaps should be outside of Canada. His *Westviking*, a tour de force on the Viking visitations to North America in pre-Columbian times, came out about the same time as the Vinland Map. But it was his earlier books, *People of the Deer* and *The Desperate People*, that established him as somewhat of a Rachel Carson of the North: his accounts of the sufferings among the Canadian Eskimos demonstrated that the United States did not hold a complete monopoly of Bourbonism and stupidity toward its first inhabitants, and the books were a significant factor in an official awakening toward the Eskimos' plight.

The Polar Passion is a very large collection of difficult to obtain accounts of explorers who sought what Mowat describes "as that peculiarly non-objective yet passionately desired Holy Grail of so many men—the North Pole," woven into a consistent and patterned narrative. Through them we gain some insight into the actual lure of the Pole.

It would be too simplistic to say that the same motivations that propelled Cortez, a bandit with a royal commission, toward the discovery and exploration of Middle America (greed) also motivated Americans, Britons and Scandinavians in the race for the Pole. There was, of course, the constant quest for the Northwest Passage and the addition of land to Empire, not to mention nationalistic pride. The story of Polar history which Mowat helps to relate is of particular worth because he develops for us the character, the morality and the values of people so often glossed over by uncritical contemporary biographers or journals.

The American Army expedition commanded by Lt. Adolphus Greely, for instance, was a fatal fiasco because Greely refused to seek any help from the Etah Eskimo tribe, less than 30 miles away from the camp where seventeen of his men died in 1884. Others saw the Eskimo as a source of money and exhibitionism. Robert E. Peary, a civil engineer attached to the U.S. Navy, who advanced his career through political intimates of both Democratic (McKinley) and Republican (Theodore Roosevelt) Presidents, took a meteorite from Cape York, Greenland, where it had for centuries been a source of Eskimo knives and arrowheads, as well as ancestral treasure, and transported it to New York. There it was sold to Morris K. Jesup, the philanthropist who established the American Museum of Natural History. Peary also brought back six of the "Arctic Highlanders" as they were called then. Two men, a woman and two children died within a year, but first they had been exhibited at Jesup's museum. The survivor, educated by a museum employee, related in later years that the skeleton of his father had been preserved in the museum.

The controversy over the discovery of the Pole has been distasteful to most geographers (one describes it as "the most dismal and undignified episode in the history of exploration"), and too many historians ignored it because of the Great War and Woodrow Wilson. Mowat makes a significant contribution by placing in fascinating perspective the background of the two claimants to prior Polar discovery, Brooklyn physician Frederick Albert Cook and Peary, the naval engineer. History, as most schoolboys know, records that Peary discovered the Pole in 1909; Cook, if he is mentioned at all, is dismissed at best as a charlatan, although he maintained to his death that he reached the Pole a full *year* ahead of Peary, in 1908.

(An interesting contemporary aside to Mr. Mowat's most controversial thesis occurred last April, when a St. Paul, Minn., insurance man and three hardy companions demonstrated that Washing-

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ton's redoubtable National Geographic Society has no monopoly on commercialized geography. At a reported cost of $250,000—and with the careful endorsement of companies that make everything from soup to flotation survival jackets—they literally drove to the North Pole in four snowmobiles, made sure that an Air Force weather plane spotted them at 90 degrees true north, and then took a charter plane back to civilization.)

Even biographers sympathetic to Peary's claims, have described him as domineering, arrogant and obsessed with a personal manifest destiny (upon his departure to the Arctic for his last Polar quest, he told benefactor Theodore Roosevelt that the exploration was "the work for which God Almighty intended me"). He was fully equipped for the savage dispute with Cook, his one-time shipmate and surgeon, who in an era of ruthless, aggressive goals was somewhat a babe in the woods. What outraged Peary and his supporters was Cook's reliance on his own resources and his faith in the Eskimos. The doctor had only $3,000 and the experience of almost two decades in the Arctic, subarctic Alaska and the Antarctic. He reached the Pole across the Arctic Ocean ice pack with few provisions, two sleds, a canvas boat and two young Eskimo helpers. Mowat relates what this did to the national honor:

> . . . for Cook to tackle the Pole in such a casual manner when Peary had demonstrated to the world that only the most determined mobilization of American resources could do the job was to mortally insult not only Peary and his supporters, but the United States. Yet this is what Cook, in his incurable innocence, chose to do . . . he (Cook) represented no great body of savants and no consortium of wealthy interests; his methods were insultingly simple; he represented the wrong set of values.

The same financial backers of the "Peary Arctic Club" had highly placed friends in the well-heeled and influential commercial enterprise called the National Geographic Society, as well as the government: that their verdict as to who discovered the Pole would be Robert Peary was no surprise: what is surprising is that some historians half a century later still accept it while the once discredited Dr. Cook continues to gain acknowledgment by both European authorities and modern Arctic travelers.

In Europe the American physician-explorer has won new converts to the contemporary explorers who supported him (Amundsen, Nordenskjold, Sverdrup and Mikkelsen among them) and the Polar historians who accepted his journey after the emotions of the controversy had abated (England's J. Gordon Hayes and Germany's H. H. Houben). For more than a decade, the director of the Geographical Polar Institute of Italy has advocated Cook's prior attainment, acknowledged in atlases, reference volumes and geographical journals of that country.

The late Bernard J. Hubbard of Santa Clara University, who spent more than twenty years in the Arctic, corroborated Cook's original descriptions of the moving ice at the top of the world in his many flights over the Pole in the late 1940s. Rear Adm. Charles W. Thomas, Byrd's ice navigator in the Antarctic, first postulated the argument of ice island verification of Cook's claim, perhaps the strongest evidence in his favor and among the ex post facto findings which led a writer in the *Journal* of the Arctic Institute of North America to declare in 1966 that "Cook's own story of the polar journey is unassailable."

It remains as one of history's majestic ironies that Peary's reputation is inextricably bound up with that of his rival, Cook, for the ultimate judgment of their work will rest with their characters. Farley Mowat, in reconstructing their motivations, provides further evidence of Wilde's advice that the only duty we owe to history is to rewrite it.

Discrimination in Israel?

THE ARYANIZATION OF THE JEWISH STATE. *By Michael Selzer. Black Star. 126 pp. $5.*

THE END OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE? *By Georges Friedmann. Translated from the French by Eric Mosbacher. Doubleday & Co. 307 pp. $5.95.*

RAPHAEL ROTHSTEIN
Mr. Rothstein is on the staff of the New York Times News Service, and has written for newspapers in Australia and Israel.

In an interview some months ago, Michael Selzer stated that *The Aryanization of the Jewish State* had received very little attention from the usual channels for reviewing and publicizing books. Mr. Selzer felt that his anti-Zionist book was suffering from the reluctance of book editors and radio and television commentators to be associated with criticism of Israel at a time when pro-Israel public sentiment is so strong. Selzer cited his experience with the *Allan Burke Show*, a TV talk program which features verbal parrying between Mr. Burke and guests holding eccentric or controversial views. After arranging with the author for a scheduled Saturday night appearance, the producers informed Selzer that he was being dropped from the program because the show preferred not to present a Jew critical of Israel. Reportedly, the producers would have no objection if Selzer had been an Arab, since anti-Israel Arabs are acceptable TV protagonists.

The argument of Selzer's book is that Zionism is anti-Semitic in origin, since it is a movement originally initiated by emancipated European Jews eager to create a de-Judaized state on the model of Western nations, without allowing for the cultural and social expression of Oriental Judaism. His thesis is not original; separatist movements in Israel have expressed variations of this theme, and anti-Zionist writers often emphasize the unnatural relationship between Westernized Israel and its geographical setting.

Unfortunately, the sensational aspect of Selzer's work, implicit in the book's provocative title, obscures the perceptive and worth-while analysis of Israel's social and political life that appears amid some romanticizing of the Oriental way of life and unrealistic theorizing about the possibility of "Orientalization" of the Jewish state.

Selzer's conviction that Zionism dominates and controls the instruments of Jewish life and thought in the United States is probably one reason why he chose to offer his work to the public in such a deliberately defiant fashion. A more conventional approach, the author

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is likely to reason, would fail to obtain a forum for his ideas. Ironically, this is precisely what has happened despite Selzer's audacious attempt to link the behavior of Zionism with the crimes of Nazism.

Georges Friedmann, a French sociologist, has also pondered the unique character of modern Israel and wonders whether the native-born Israeli is really a Jew in the ways his brethren in other countries identify themselves as Jews. Like Michael Selzer, Mr. Friedmann sees the Jewish state as the culmination of Jewish historical aspiration, as well as a society strikingly different from the styles and attitudes of Jewish life practiced elsewhere in the world. This perception has led him to explore Israel as a means of formulating a projection of the future of the Jewish people.

His study is probably the best general work ever written about Israel. An admittedly assimilated Jew who first discovered the special meaning of Jewishness under the Vichy regime, Friedmann combines the rare talents of a disciplined scholar, an alert journalist and a cultivated and urbane commentator. He has also been fortunate in his translator, Eric Mosbacher.

Unlike many writers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, who are carried away with their "discovery" of Israel, Georges Friedmann maintains a finely balanced detachment tempered with sympathy and a growing identification. He is aware of the emotional challenge Israel poses and expresses this consciousness early in the book:

> Visiting Israel is certainly a disturbing experience to any Jew, however peripheral or marginal a Jew he may be. It may rouse his enthusiasm or irritate him, but it will certainly shake him. If the most "assimilated" visitor stays there long enough . . . it will establish itself irrevocably in his heart and mind.

The author draws on studies by both foreign and Israeli sociologists and has amply supported his conclusions with footnotes indicating copious research. Friedmann's background in industrial sociology aids him in describing and analyzing the structure of organized labor and agricultural cooperatives. His chapters on the Histadrut Labor Federation and the kibbutz are lucid essays explaining the difficulties and contradictions confronting these important institutions, peculiar to Israel. I don't think any non-Israeli writer has ever described the Histadrut—a combination labor federation, capitalist developer and monopoly—so well.

Another significant contribution of *The End of the Jewish People?* is the discussion of the "second Israel"—the Oriental Jews of the Middle East and North Africa who came to Israel after the establishment of the tate and who lacking in education and industrial skills, have been relegated to the lower level of Israeli society. These Jews are often referred to collectively as "Sephardim," a Hebrew term used for Jews of Spanish and Portuguese descent, who follow the Sephardic rite in their synagogues. But the "Sephardim" in Israel include Jews from the Arab countries of the Middle East and North Africa, and from India and Kurdistan, as well as the Ladino-speaking Jews who fled Spain and Portugal in the 15th century and settled in lands under Ottoman dominion.

The Sephardo-Oriental Jews form the majority—60 per cent—of Israel's population, as opposed to the Ashkenazim or Yiddish-speaking Jews of Eastern and Central Europe. Selzer calls the Oriental Jews "the outcasts of Israel" and charges that the Ashkenazi leaders of the Zionist establishment are committing "cultural genocide" by imbuing the majority group with a sense of ethnic inferiority and alienation in a Western-oriented nation.

However exaggerated the use of the term "cultural genocide" may be, there is some truth to Selzer's allegations. Jews of the "second Israel" are divided by an ever-widening gap from the affluent, European-style existence of the Ashkenazim. In any town or city in Israel one can observe large numbers of able-bodied, unemployed, Oriental Jewish men passing their days in neighborhood cafés and on street corners, while their families depend on welfare and the scant earnings of their many children who rarely complete elementary school. Bewildered by the social mores of a foreign and puzzling atmosphere, they cannot but respond to modern Israel as frustrated aliens, withdrawn into the idle way of life they knew in Morocco or Iraq. And Friedmann recounts conversations with French-speaking North African Jews in Israel that reflect the bitterness of people who feel discriminated against and betrayed by the Promised Land.

Education in "the broadest possible sense of the term" is Friedmann's proposed solution to the problem of disadvantaged Oriental Jewish youth. He suggests headstart programs and more primary schools where children could spend the whole day "in order to remove them from a family environment and living conditions that are unfavorable to learning." But he cautions that care must be taken to avoid cutting them off from their environment, and he echoes Selzer's concern that Israel's school system was devised by Ashkenazim and is often an impediment in achieving the integration of the Orientals.

The optimistic view of many Israelis that the ethnic problems will pass with time is belied by the facts, Friedmann writes. And he warns us that "in the absence of carefully considered, concerted, large-scale action, the material and moral gap between the two communities in income, living conditions, qualifications and mentality can only deepen." Both books warn of the possibility that the greatest threat to Israel's well-being may not, after all, come from outside the country but from its inner, unsolved problems.

THEATRE

ROBERT PASOLLI

You get through "Collision Course," an off-Broadway program of eleven plays at the Café Au Go Go, by holding it at arm's length, as you do the real life in the streets which inspires its psychically punishing production style. As the show careens around the tiny playing area at the café, hard, shrill and headlong, you avoid emotional contact if you can, for contact means, precisely, collision. The show's effect is alienation, an awkward stance to have to assume toward an art work, even if it duplicates a fundamental response to modern life. It is one thing to find a show hard to like, another to find it hard to take.

Edward Parone, the director of the production, obviously felt that a bill of eleven short plays required a homogeneous production style. His approach reflects a phase the theatre is going through, and for good reason. Words having been made suspect by the preposterous illegitimate uses to which they have been put on political and societal levels, many theatre people have lately turned their attention to nonverbal expression. Exhuming the theories of Artaud, the *avant-garde* has been developing the capacity of the theatre for kinesthetic, pictorial and abstract statement, frequently in alliance with dancers, painters and sculptors (who invented the happening). Jerzy Grotowski's experiment in environmental theatre in Poland have inspired innovative work in many countries, including in America that of the Living Theatre, the Open Theatre, the La Mama Troupe and the Performance Group. But this work necessarily redefines the traditional roles and relationships of actors, directors and writers, and it has so far succeeded only where the author has created his play in company with a performing group, or where the author is so dead and his work so rich that a troupe could slash, edit and radically reinterpret to its heart's content. Neither of those circumstances prevails in "Collision Course," the scripts of which were written for conventional production. That is, they need the sen-

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ROBERT ROHR

sitive articulation by a director and actors of the authors' various intentions. "Collision Course" is an example of rampant productionism applied to dramatic texts rather than fused with theatrical scenarios.

Some of the plays do submit to Parone's psychically and physically clamorous approach, but without yielding up their special qualities to it. In Lanford Wilson's *Wandering*, for example, a young man encounters the clichés which motivate the adults who structure his experience—parents, teachers, draft examiners, and so on. Parone takes the schematic structure of the play as justification for running it so fast and furiously that it whistles past almost unperceived. Another example is Rosalyn Drexler's *Skywriting*, which depicts the arguing of a married couple and demonstrates that people close to one another argue for emotional release rather than for substantiation of the issues. But the production's ruthless emphasis on what the characters say draws your attention quite erroneously to the meaning of their meaningless statements, and the psychological point is buried.

Robert Patrick's *Camera Obscura* is best suited of all the plays to Parone's production. Here a man and a woman communicate over long distance via closed-circuit television, their anxieties compounded by the five-second lag between sight and sound. The progress they go from confusion to awkwardness to mastery to isolation (when their allotted time elapses) is tense, funny and touching. Since Patrick clearly intends the situation as a metaphor for the prevailing lack of face-to-face communication, the implications of technocracy is the subject of the play; hence Parone's production sets it off nicely.

Tour by Terrence McNally is the only play on the bill that is full and dense enough to assert itself against Parone's production. An American couple try hard not to be "your average American tourists" as they ride into the Italian countryside in a hired car driven by a young native whom they mistrust. McNally renders his fanciful situation with humor and exact observation but, quite wondrously, he alters his course halfway through. The wife has been preoccupied with her soldier son who is in Vietnam. In her worry and misery she has been easily frighted by anything unusual on their trip. Gradually this affects her husband's studied bounce, and soon irrational fears have thoroughly unnerved the two of them. They alight from the car in order to pull themselves together only to be set upon by a group of mendicant monks, whom we do not see. Somehow the monks are transformed by the couple's misery and isolation into the maimed and wounded citizens crying out in Vietnam, and this forces the couple into a confrontation with a horror for which they know themselves to be responsible. As a frivolity, turning imperceptibly into a horror show, *Tour* is a virtuoso stroke.

Two light-weight and amusing plays are *The Unexpurgated Memoirs of Bernard Mergendeiler* by Jules Feiffer, in which a promiscuous couple manage to make love after she convinces him that sex is meant to seem dirty; and *Chuck* by Jack Larson, in which an epileptic magazine salesman proves to a housewife that reading magazines is better than watching television. (He has a fit in her doorway and then asks, "Wouldn't you rather read about me than see me?") Israel Horovitz's *Rats* is a tense confrontation between a kingpin rat and a young rat out for his piece of the action. The five other plays, which make little discussable impression, are by Leonard Melfi, Harvey Perr, Jean-Claude van Itallie, in collaboration with Sharon Thie and Martin Duberman. Among the cast Sam Groom, Tom Rosqui and Susan Browning excel in a variety of roles.

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